

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF CHRISTIAN WORK

OF THE
NORTH INDIA MISSION OF THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U.S.A.

Wm

EDITED BY
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IN MEMORIAM

THIS HISTORY IS PUBLISHED IN MEMORY OF
THE REVEREND JAMES JOSEPH LUCAS, D.D.
BORN AT DUBLIN, IRELAND, 21 AUGUST 1847
DIED AT LAHORE, INDIA, 7 JANUARY 1939

PREBYTERIAN MISSIONARY IN THE UNITED
PROVINCES FROM 1870 TILL 1923

CHRIST'S MISSIONARY UNTIL THE END OF HIS
EARTHLY DAYS



FOREWORD

THE papers read at the Centennial meeting of the North India Mission held in Landour in June 1936 have been bound in a book called *After One Hundred Years*. The writer of this volume wishes to express his hearty thanks to his colleagues whose pages have been gleaned for further historical material.

In no way does he wish to seem to be writing in competition with Dr. J. J. Lucas whose twenty-five pages of personal reminiscences and mission history are found in the above-mentioned book. Dr. Lucas has written from a point of view and with a radiancy unattainable by those who have to glean their facts by research.

This history is published as a companion volume to the centennial addresses.



PREFACE

THE Golden Jubilee of the two missions was a union celebration of which we read in Mrs. Holcomb's writings:

December third to seventh 1884, a semi-centennial celebration of the founding of the Missions was held at Ludhiana. The first day was devoted to historical sketches, the second day to a history of the educational work, the third day to an account of preaching and medical work. The fourth day a Christian *mela* was held with exercises in Hindustani, while the fifth day was given over to Sabbath worship including the observance of the Lord's Supper.

Over one hundred persons were present, of whom about sixty were Americans and Europeans. In this group were included a number of converts from Muhammedanism and Hinduism, now faithful followers of the Lord Jesus and efficient laborers in the great work of preaching Christ. Fifty years hence when the Centennial of this Mission is celebrated, those who participate in it will doubtless see much greater things than our eyes now behold. Then as now all praise be to Him who hath so marvellously wrought by the hands of His servants.¹

In the same history is found the following statement from John C. Lowrie, the first missionary of the Punjab:

It is a record of grace given from on high, of kind providences, of work well begun, of the gospel preached, of Christian schools taught, of the sacred Scriptures widely circulated, of hopeful conversions, of native churches and ministers, of the blessing of God upon the labors and prayers of His people, which call for thanksgiving and praise. A bright and blessed future awaits this work of our Church, and grateful should all feel who may take part in it for the sake of Christ. So may we expect more and more encouragement in our work in India, and when the next fifty years are ended far greater results will be recorded to the glory of God.²

These prophecies have come true in both our Mission areas. Our sister Mission and Church of the Punjab celebrated the completion of the second fifty years of witness in a splendid meeting in Ludhiana in October 1937. This was the centennial of the founding of the first church in the

Punjab, an event which took place three years after the arrival of John C. Lowrie in 1834. A new church building, the third to be erected in Ludhiana during the hundred years, was rededicated. Two thousand Christians were present at the meetings, and took part in a great procession through the city. There were exhibits, picturing the history of the early church and its founders. The greatest feature of the celebration was a three-hour pageant, repeated twice, representing the coming of Christianity to the Punjab and outstanding events in the development of the work.

In 1923 in all countries eight hundred and twenty-six Protestant Societies spent seventy million dollars and supported twenty-nine thousand missionaries in foreign lands. In the more than century of missions (1832-1932) there have been about seventy-five thousand missionaries appointed, of whom twenty-seven thousand were men and forty-eight thousand were women. These have rendered approximately one million years of service. There are now one hundred and ten national Christians for every single missionary who has served. They have served an average of twelve and one-half years while the married missionaries have served an average of thirteen and one-half years.³

In the century under review, 1836-1936, three hundred missionaries of the North India Mission have given a total of two thousand one hundred and ninety-two years of service to the Church. The average term of service of our married missionaries to date is fourteen years while that of single lady missionaries is nine years plus. There are today in our area approximately one hundred Indian Christians for every missionary who served in this first century of our work.

From the Board General letter of February 1936 we glean the following in anticipation of future celebrations:

The Board was organized by the General Assembly of 1837. The first members were appointed on the afternoon of June seventh. The next General Assembly will be asked to set aside one Sunday, probably 10 October 1937, for a churchwide celebration of the Centennial with appropriate sermons in every church. If no history of your Mission is available or if the

available history does not come down to date, will you not have some one give us the salient matters which might be used in the home church to deepen the interest? . . . Please give a fresh estimate of the existing Church in your area, its self-consciousness, its promise of permanence, its enlargement of life, its special needs and the effective relation of the Mission to it.⁴

The celebration in America was a great success and is now itself a part of our history. The General Assembly at Columbus, the full-length sound moving picture accompanied by Dr. Speer's voice, the widely advertised meeting in Baltimore in October when Dr. Speer spoke over a nation-wide hook-up of the radio—these were some of the features. But while the celebration is over and gone the need for bringing our history up-to-date and for arousing missionary interest is just as great as ever.

A quotation from Dr. Speer's letter to the Synod of North India will not be amiss in this connection.

From the beginning the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. has sent forth six hundred and ninety-nine missionaries to India. It has rejoiced with great joy to see the work which has grown up in its association with the men and women of the Church of India. Some of these names such as Chatterji, Kolak Nath, Uppal, Masoji and others have been as well known in our churches here as the names of the men and women from America who were associated with it. The Church and the Board in America join with the Church and Missions in India in prayer and purpose for the years to come, for the building of the church in truth and full autonomy, for the wider and deeper evangelistic movement that shall present Christ irresistibly in redeeming power to the people of India, for the full domination of every institution and activity by the fundamental missionary aim to make Christ known and to win men and women to Christian character and Christian service.⁵

The growth and progress of our work during the last third of this first century may be viewed through the eyes of our senior missionaries, Dr. and Mrs. John H. Lawrence, who began their missionary work in India in 1901.

Since the Lawrences joined the Mission all of our present medical work has been opened, all of our village schools for Christians have been started, all of our village churches have been organized and all of our high school buildings have been erected. During these thirty-five years twenty-four of

the forty bungalows have been built, six of our twelve hostels (excluding the college) have been opened, five of our eleven city churches have been built, completed or dedicated and four of our eleven stations have been opened. The same period witnessed the growth of the number of missionaries from twenty-six to ninety-five and the increase in the Christian population from about three thousand to thirty thousand.

The Church Councils, the Mission and the India Council all took appropriate actions looking toward a fitting celebration of the completion of the first century of our work in the United Provinces. In 1935 the General Board appointed Walter L. Allison, N. K. Mukerji and E. Graham Parker to prepare a centennial history of Church and Mission with a view to the materials being used in a centennial meeting and with the further thought that such a history might be published. The General Board again at its 1936 meeting passed several actions looking toward the completion and publication of this history. At this same meeting several historical papers were read as a part of the Centennial devotional program.

It is a pleasure to refer to Kenneth L. Parker's scholarly work, *The Development of the United Church of Northern India*. The author shows how some of our missionaries took active part in Presbyterian affairs in the days of the Presbyterian Alliance and later in the establishment of the United Church of North India.

Writing of the progress of union between 1880 and 1890, Mr. Parker says:

The arguments which told most heavily against union were the difficulties of the language, the severing of relations with the home churches, and the fact that the Indians did not show a great interest in it. Time has shown that the severing of the ecclesiastical bonds has not meant a loss of interest or a falling off in support from home churches. The language differences will always, or at least for many decades, remain a difficulty. But the real argument is that of Indian interest. The Church was not sufficiently developed for much interest to be shown at that time. When opinion was so evenly divided between union and the *status quo*, we can understand why the matter was allowed to drop.⁶

An article by N. T. Childs in the *Indian Witness* dealt with the Methodists' debt to Presbyterians for "three beautifully finished products of the Presbyterian Church."⁷

The Presbyterians gave Rev. Joel Janvier who became one of the pioneers among the Indians in the Methodist Church. He was revered by every Indian and American missionary for his powerful and elevating sermons. His presence was an inspiration to all. The second gift was Rev. Raja Ram Chitambar to whom as head-master both teachers and pupils were deeply devoted. He left an ineffable inheritance to the Methodist Church in his worthy son, Bishop J. R. Chitambar.

The third gift from the Presbyterians was Rev. Zabardast Khan, alias H. Millicans. His name is familiar to all who live in the United Provinces. Descendant of an Afghan tribe, he was born and brought up in Farrukhabad where he was baptized in 1855. During the mutiny he suffered much but later he and his wife were reunited in Farrukhabad. Taking up Government service he was located in Cawnpore where he joined the Methodist Church. For fifteen years he was a successful doctor and for twenty years he was an inspiring preacher of the Methodist Church.

Reference is here made with appreciation to Dr. Arthur J. Brown's monumental work, *One Hundred Years*. It was evidently Dr. Brown's intention to narrate something about every one of our mission stations. If so, it is a regrettable fact that in his *magnum opus* nothing at all is written about Jhansi. This is all the more singular in view of the fact that so much of interest and value has been written of Jhansi's history. If Secretary Brown had had the good fortune to read Mrs. Holcomb's charming books on India, he would certainly have had his attention turned to Jhansi and the good work carried on there.

It is the hope and prayer of the committee that this small history may be used to make us all better informed as to the past, to bring us all into closer co-operation in this divine enterprise and to make us, in Christ, more zealous for the years of service ahead.

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- ² John C. Lowrie in above history, p. 167.
- ³ *The Health and Turnover of Missionaries* (Introduction), Wm. G. LENNEX, 1933.
- ⁴ *Board General Letter*, No. 57. Feb. 5, 1936.
- ⁵ Letter of Secretary Robert E. Speer to the Synod of North India and to the Church Councils, 29 August 1934.
- ⁶ Page 37.
- ⁷ 4 February 1932.

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ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF CHRISTIAN WORK OF THE NORTH INDIA MISSION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U.S.A.

1836 to 1936

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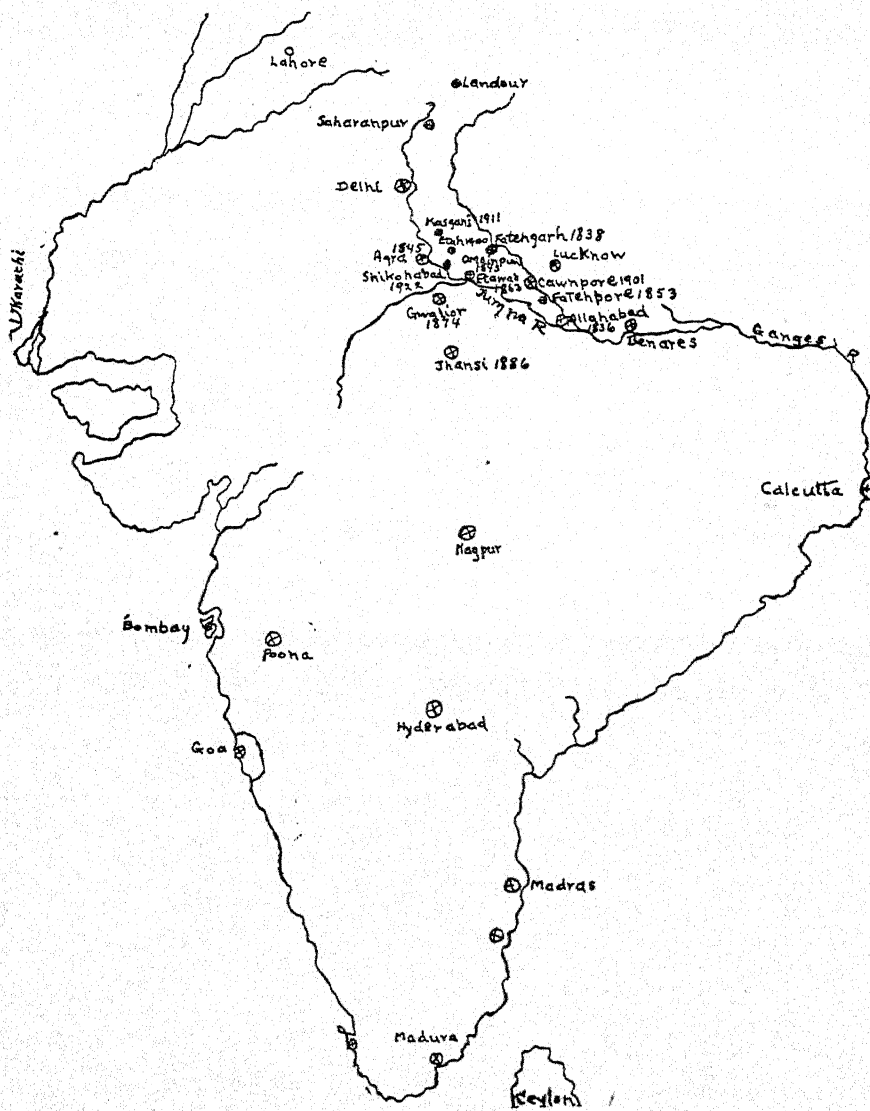
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CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS IN ALLAHABAD, 1836-57

Just one-third of the first century of modern missionary activities had elapsed when our American Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., began to develop concern for the unsaved people in India. While the memory of William Carey's brilliant career as scientist and linguist was still fresh in the minds of those who had followed his life, and just when Alexander Duff was beginning his bold new venture into western education in Bengal, the first missionary volunteers of our Church in the United States reached India through Calcutta, at that time the main gateway to this vast country.

When in 1836 the feet of our first missionaries touched on "India's coral strand," another year had yet to elapse before the missionary forces of our Church were constituted a regularly organized board of missions representing the Church as a whole.

This is not the place to write of the India of that day except to remind our readers that there was no Suez Canal, there was no Capitol at New Delhi, there were no railways and there was no united India. Ludhiana was the north-western frontier station of British India.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., declared that the establishment of British authority in India was one of the greatest blessings that God had ever bestowed upon Hindus, and that the introduction of the English language as a vehicle of Christian knowledge in India was fraught with no ordinary advantages. Looking back from the end of this first century of our Church's witness in India, we may question the judgment and prophetic vision of the ecclesiastical leaders of that time; but we cannot impugn their motive, which was nothing less than that of making Christianity a world-wide religion.

Rev. and Mrs. James Wilson of New York State were the first appointed missionaries of our Church to Allahabad,

the city in which our missionary work was begun. The Wilsons were members of the second group of missionaries sent by our Church to India. Rev. John C. Lowrie, who after Mrs. Reed's departure for America was the only surviving member of the first group of four, had reached Ludhiana in November 1834 and had there planted the Cross of Christ in the name of what has long since been known as the American Presbyterian Mission.

Rev. Elisha P. Swift, the first secretary of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, forerunner of our present Board, gave the charge to the Wilsons and other members of the second group. In his address Mr. Swift dwelt at length on the fame of the Sikh nation of the Punjab and commissioned these early apostles to go forth and dedicate their lives to the conversion of that great nation. Comforting them as they said their last farewell to their families and friends, the new secretary bade them, "Go forth then—be faithful unto death and you will receive the crown of life."¹

✓ Mr. and Mrs. James Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. John Newton and Miss Davis left Boston in November 1834, and after one hundred and ten days of sailing around the Cape of Good Hope, they arrived in Calcutta, 25 February 1835. Mr. Newton reported that the passage was remarkably short, the weather was pleasant and the accommodation of the ship good.² After arranging Miss Davis' marriage with Mr. John Goadby, a Baptist missionary of Bengal, the Wilsons and the Newtons chartered a boat named the *Pinnace* and resumed their journey in June 1835, starting up the Ganges River. In their baggage was a wooden printing press which they had bought in Calcutta. The good ship *Pinnace* delivered them safely in Cawnpore early in October, whence they took passage on a smaller boat, arriving in Farrukhabad, 25 October. Their overland journey northwards from Farrukhabad to Ludhiana was in palanquin by stages of twelve miles a day. John C. Lowrie met the party just north of Delhi and conducted his new colleagues safely to their destination, arriving safely in Ludhiana, 8 December 1835. A few months later the Wilsons were stationed at Sabathu where we leave them for the present.

Our work in Allahabad was actually opened by Rev. and Mrs. James McEwen, members of the Associate Reformed Church of America, who had sailed from Philadelphia in November 1835, in the third party of missionaries sent out to India by our Church. These new ambassadors reached Calcutta in April 1836, all bound for Ludhiana for service among the Sikhs. On the way up the Ganges, due to the capsizing of two of their smaller freight boats, the mission library, some parts of the new printing press which they had brought from America, and a quantity of print paper were lost. While their boats tarried for five days in Allahabad, they met there the English Baptist missionary of that place, Mr. McIntosh, as well as other European people, and they were led to think that Allahabad would be a strategic place for our Church to open Christian work. Pushing on up the river to Cawnpore they learned that the missing parts of the press could be procured in Allahabad but at no place farther west. It was at once decided that Mr. McEwen should return to Allahabad to secure the necessary repairs for the press. Mr. McEwen himself relates the story:

I was urged to stay here, but we proceeded again to Cawnpore. On our arrival there I found a letter awaiting me from a gentleman here (Allahabad) pressing me very hard to return, at least for a season until I should have time to write to America. . . . We decided to return and I am now convinced that the Lord directed our steps. The young East Indians are growing up almost as ignorant of God as Hindus. . . . On arrival I commenced laboring among this class of people. . . . We made efforts to open a school. The boarding school system is the great hope of Christian missions. Mrs. McEwen has collected a number of East Indian children as day scholars. My boys are eight to nineteen years of age. . . . Although we are here for the present we are here without appointment.³

In March 1837 Mrs. McEwen wrote:

In my school there are five Indian adults, three of whom understand English. There are also East Indians and a few Europeans. . . . A good portion of the day is devoted to religious instruction. . . . I myself have suffered little from sickness but my husband's ill-health has been extremely trying to both of us, particularly during our tedious and lonely journey of four months

on the river. . . . A happy day has dawned for Allahabad and I hope that our efforts here to commence a mission will be seconded most vigorously by the Society. . . . We hope that in a few generations India will be an enlightened and Christian people.⁴

Mr. McEwen's journal of March 1837 contains the following:

These (Europeans and East Indians) have been formed into a Church and the Lord's Supper has been administered to them. Most of them have dated their first serious impressions since our arrival. Among them is one young man who will probably be an active and useful Christian. He has presented to the Society (Board) a bungalow with outhouses and land suitable for a garden. The property is to revert to him if this should cease to be a mission station. We took possession of it 1 February (1837). There is a small bungalow just near the one I have named which I have rented for a school-house at twenty-five rupees per month. It could be bought for two hundred and fifty dollars. These two would make a fine mission establishment. There are eleven boys and girls in the boarding school and thirty-nine day-scholars including some Europeans.⁴

A European gentleman provided the financial support for three schools opened by the McEwens. On the first Sabbath of June 1837, Mr. McEwen baptized his first convert. Ram Singh, a native of Madras, after five months training, received Christian baptism and was given the new name of Elisha Swift. In October of that same year we learn of discontent because of the inter-racial character of the school. Many who had been taken into the boarding school had left and gone back to begging again. The twelve boarders and forty-one day-scholars were memorizing Brown's *Catechism*. "Visitors have been pleased with the progress of the children. As we are not appointed to this place we have not felt like incurring expenses for the school."⁴

On account of the continued ill-health of Mr. McEwen they left Allahabad, 22 January 1838, to return to America. When they reached Calcutta about the middle of March they were much cheered to learn that the Society had decided to make Allahabad a permanent station. These two brave souls, members of another Church and serving without appointment had, in less than eighteen months, laid the

foundation for this marvellous work which at the close of this first century stretches from the Ganges to the south side of the Jumna River. While waiting for passage from Calcutta the McEwens had the joy of welcoming the fourth party of missionaries, of whom Rev. John Morrison who lost his wife in Calcutta, and Rev. and Mrs. Henry R. Wilson were destined to serve in the North India Mission.

The above mentioned Mr. and Mrs. James Wilson were transferred from Sabathu to Allahabad and took over the McEwens' work there at the time of, or soon after, the latter's departure for America in January 1838. Mr. Wilson performed the first marriage of Indian Christians in Allahabad in February of that year. John Morrison joined the Wilsons at the end of May of that same year. In August was commenced the custom of taking up a weekly offering in the church. The following October two elders were ordained, one of whom was a teacher in one of the mission schools. Mr. Wilson sent home a five-page letter describing the great Hindu Magh Mela held in January 1839.⁵ There had been a pilgrim tax which that year was repealed, resulting in an unusually large gathering of Hindus at this famous annual festival. We read also of the use of a mission tent in connection with evangelistic work done among these Hindu pilgrims. Early in 1839 Mr. Morrison was united in marriage to Miss Isabella Hay. His first assignment of work in Allahabad was as preacher for the English services.

In January 1839 the Wilsons opened a school in the city, engaging a Muhammadan as teacher and provided the financial support themselves. Within a few months a second such school was opened and at both places evening preaching was carried on. Contrary to the General Assembly's judgment as to the use of English in India, the Wilsons soon found it best to have the teaching done in the vernacular. From Mrs. Wilson's letters of April 1840, we learn that there were seventeen girls and thirty-six boys in the boarding schools. They were reading both the Hindi and Roman characters. The pupils memorized a new Bible verse daily and were also taught some hand-work in addition to the regular studies. Local contributions toward the support of the schools amounted to four hundred rupees that year.

One of Mr. Wilson's letters spoke of the difficulty of preaching in Allahabad City. The report to the home Church for 1841 contains the information that in July 1840 eighteen boarding school children were baptized and at the same time the Hindustani Church was organized. Another of their letters is interesting from the fact that it tells us that two employees, a man and his mother, were being paid four rupees per month; that they spent three rupees per month for their food and the other rupee for clothes.

Upon the arrival in May 1839 of the fifth group of our missionaries the force in Allahabad was doubled by the addition of two ordained men, Joseph Warren and John E. Freeman, and their wives. We may here anticipate the fact that John E. Freeman—along with his second wife—"a man of pleasant aspect, of good appearance, of affable manners and remarkable capacity for business" was, through much personal suffering due to the loss of his family, and through patient service, prepared to make the supreme sacrifice in the massacre of 1857.⁶

The work in Allahabad was now well established, the missionaries and their helpers were full of enthusiasm for the Church of Christ and the spread of His Kingdom, and the many detailed letters and reports sent to America were well and widely received.

✓ On land donated by the East India Company, the first Chauk Church was erected in 1840, in the heart of the city, and its dedication followed in December of that year. The cost of this chapel was about seven hundred rupees, all of which was donated by people of Allahabad and other friends in India. ✓ In 1840 a large strip of land on the left bank of the Jumna River was purchased for a song from the East India Company, the ruling power of that day. The story of the purchase runs thus: The authorities of the East India Company thought that the Jumna would continue to eat away its bank on the side next to the city, and hence were willing to sell what comprises more than half of the present forty acre compound, for a very low price. But in the sixties the railway engineers dumped tons and tons of rock into the river just below the compound in an effort to fix the course of the stream and safeguard the new railway bridge

and at a subsequent date municipal water works were constructed just a little farther up the river and thus the American Mission and Jumna Church were saved from the fate anticipated by the Company.

During this same year (1840) the Wilsons and the Freemans left the temporary quarters, which were subsequently abandoned entirely, and took up their residence on this new site on the banks of the Jumna. This necessitated the removal also of the asylums, which were at that time under the supervision of the Freemans. Several buildings near the new location were rented and transformed into orphanages for boys and girls. Just near this compound an old building, which had served as a part of the East India Company's mint, was leased and converted into a church for the service in Hindustani. In February 1843 James Wilson was installed in charge of the Indian congregation. In 1844, with funds from a legacy left by a woman-convert from Islam, a chapel was built in Kydganj, Allahabad. These chapels, Kydganj and the Chauk, were both used for Christian worship, for evangelistic meetings and for vernacular schools. Joseph Warren in his narrative of his first fifteen years in India wrote of helping to build four chapels in Allahabad. He evidently referred to the two in the city, one near the new Jumna compound and one at Katra, three miles away, built for Christians employed in the press.⁷ He stated that they "felt persuaded that the mere sight of a place of worship would excite inquiry, and would be a continual preacher to non-Christians."

Mr. Warren, whose first ambition in life was to become a printer, was naturally very enthusiastic over the new iron printing press which his party had brought from home. In addition to this, he bought a small press from the London Missionary Society of Benares. In his memoirs Mr. Warren tells that in 1839, aside from our mission press in Ludhiana, there were only two other presses west of Calcutta, one in Delhi and the other in Agra, both used primarily for secular work. The new mission press, at least a part of it, was fitted up in one of the bathrooms of the Warrens' house. An orphan boy named John was the first apprentice and was initiated by helping to set up the type for John Brown's

Catechism. The first customer of the new press was the then collector of Gorakhpur, United Provinces. Very soon Mr. Warren was able to erect a three-room house for this new and important branch of evangelism. Two years later other rooms were added one of which was used as a place of worship. The new establishment within a few years had earned the reputation for doing the best work outside of Calcutta. Messrs. Warren, Wilson and Owen all did a great amount of literary work, both original and translation. In his history of the North India Tract and Book Society Dr. J. J. Lucas reproduces Mr. Warren's arguments in favor of publishing in the Roman character.⁸ The first Roman-Urdu tract was *The Child's Book of the Soul*, translated by Mr. Wilson. In addition to its main function of producing reading matter, Mr. Warren considered that the press quite properly afforded work for poor Christians; he felt too, that the press caused the writing of several books by providing facilities for publication. This was doubtless true in those days before the advent of railroads and postal facilities.

The Board's annual report of 1842 makes mention of weekly times of worship for both Europeans and Indians, of the supervision of the day-schools and boarding schools, of translation work, of language study, of the publication of seventy-three thousand copies in three languages, of evangelistic tours and preaching at Hindu gatherings, and finally of the organization of Allahabad Presbytery.⁹ Joseph Owen in his letter of September 1843 recorded this: "We are at our work as usual, Wilson writing and preaching; Warren superintending the press and preaching; Freeman superintending the binding and preaching; and Wray and myself in charge of the school where I spend two to four hours daily." He did not forget to add that he too had a share in the preaching.⁹

✓ In January 1843 a high school for boys was opened, the classes being conducted in the Jumna Chapel. Joseph Owen who from the time of his arrival had been much interested in a good school for Indian boys, was assigned the principalship of the new school. The school made progress from the very beginning. When in 1846 the East India Company abandoned its school, then called a government college, it

transferred to our Mission land, buildings and equipment and for some years continued to support the school. Collegiate classes continued under the supervision of the Mission until the interruption of 1857, when they had to be dropped and were not reopened until 1902. We may say that this first mission college preceded the University of Allahabad by half a century. After the school came under the control of the Mission the attendance suffered temporarily due to compulsory Bible study, but within a few months the students had accepted this new subject as a matter of course. By 1855 the enrolment of the school was five hundred and fifty. John Wray was a teacher in the school in this first decade. The home of this high school and college was in the old High Court building which stood on the present compound a little north of the great banyan tree, the present "Pride of the Campus."

The following *resume* of work at the end of the first decade was recorded with many pæans of praise: Harmony in the congregation of thirty-two members, a monthly prayer-meeting, eight new members on confession and six by church letter, the dedication on 1 January 1847 of the Jumna Church, boys' school work carried on in the building lately made over to the Mission, work among lepers, regular preaching to non-Christians in several places throughout the city, sixty girls reading in the city school, two hundred boys studying in seven day-schools, preaching in many villages, and the publication through the press of six million pages of Christian literature.¹²

The Jumna Church was built by John Freeman and its cost (about nine thousand rupees) was contributed by people in India.

In describing the Mission's enlarged effort at preaching at the annual Magh Mela of 1850, Mr. Warren stated that they had never before been treated so civilly; that many Hindu pilgrims were already acquainted with Christian literature; that several Hindus attended the preaching tent for many days listening with the deepest interest to the claims of Christ; that one converted Hindu gave the credit for his conversion to a certain one of their tracts and further that many inquired about astronomical facts and scientific

theories. There is also mention of the excellent help rendered by the school boys, and the lack of any opposition from the local Brahmans. In expressing his opinion that Hinduism was dying Mr. Warren added: "And if Hinduism were to decay rapidly what would take its place?" Warren was not the first, nor the last, to make a conjecture regarding the atrophy of Hinduism.

Practically all those who attended the English services in our church were Government officials and others employed in the offices of the East India Company. When in October 1844 the seat of Government was transferred from Allahabad to Agra, practically all of these people, friends and supporters of our work, moved to Agra. The exodus was so complete that it left an empty church building. The leaders of this emigrating community urged the Mission to open work in Agra and promised their continued sympathy and support. The invitation to go to Agra was so attractive that in 1845 the Wilsons were transferred to Agra along with the Rankins, to open the new station.

The story of this first period is not complete without some reference to the long tours taken by several missionaries. Joseph Warren in his book already mentioned gave from his journal the interesting details of a boat-trip up the Jumna River as far as Etawah. In another chapter he related a tour among the hill villages of Mussooree with Mr. Woodside. J. H. Morrison's articles describe a trip by way of Cawnpore and Farrukhabad and reveal how he preached and distributed literature in many towns and villages. In 1854 one of Joseph Owen's trips was up the Jumna and then along one of its southern branches, where all along the line he was preaching and handing out literature. He reached the town of Banda where our work had been commenced the year previous, and inspected our mission school there. This station was abandoned after the Mutiny of 1857.

With meager equipment and dependent upon such means of travel as the times afforded, these brave apostles conveyed the message of Christ's salvation to thousands who perhaps heard it only once in their lives. Who shall say how much of that Gospel seed brought forth fruit or indeed may still be bearing fruit till this day?

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CHAPTER II

EARLY DAYS IN RAKHA AND FARRUKHABAD, 1838-57

THE change from river transportaion to that of railway trunk lines affected the commercial importance of Farrukhabad City to such an extent that it is difficult for us of the twentieth century to realize what a busy river port Farrukhabad was, up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Allahabad, more fortunate in its location, first enjoyed large trade due to river navigation, then it was important as the head-water for steam navigation, later as a railway center, and more recently as a station on the line of the England-Australian air service.

In the early days when freighters went up the Ganges even farther than Farrukhabad, the city was often invaded by robbers who escaped in boats. When the city was laid out by Farrukhsiyar in 1714, the Sadh community was given quarters on the side of the city towards the river in order that (it is stated) these brave people might protect the remainder of the city from nocturnal marauders.¹ J. J. Walsh, writing of this place in 1858, said that as a business center it took very high rank, and its banking transactions were very extensive. Walsh goes on to say that,

The city contains a large number of immense store-houses, filled with English and American goods of almost every description. The owners of these large establishments are constantly receiving and despatching boxes and bales of goods without even opening or looking at them.²

In 1847 Farrukhabad's urban population was estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand while the 1931 census gives its population as slightly over sixty thousand.

The genius of Christianity in first taking root in the larger cities was repeated in the early days of the modern missionary movement. Good roads and improved means of travel apparently had to come before the Church got a vision

of Christ inhabiting the villages. James Wilson as he passed through Farrukhabad in 1835 made a note of the place and later recommended to the Board that mission work should be commenced there. In October 1837 the fourth party of missionaries sailed from America, arriving in Calcutta the following April. Of the members of that group this narrative is concerned only with the Morrisons and Wilsons. Mrs. John H. Morrison died in Calcutta. Mr. Morrison ended his long journey in Allahabad where he joined the James Wilsons. After much consultation, first in Calcutta and later in Allahabad, it was decided that Mr. and Mrs. Henry R. Wilson should attempt pioneer work in Farrukhabad. The other four members of the party continued their journey to Ludhiana and the frontier province.

Government records reveal the fact that famines used to visit India in cycles of seventeen years.³ In 1837-38 the North-West Provinces suffered a very severe food shortage on account of crop failure. Of conditions consequent upon this calamity J. Johnston Walsh wrote:

It is impossible to form a conception of the fearful suffering of the poor people during the famine year preceding the establishment of our Mission at Fatehgarh. The scenes were so terrible and revolting that those who witnessed them declare that even to the present day (1858) they cannot pass over the public road without shuddering at the remembrance of what they then saw. For miles the road on both sides was lined with famishing people, who had crawled from their homes to beg from the passing traveller a mouthful of bread. Their emaciated forms and death-struck appearance presented a tale of suffering which rendered language and supplication unnecessary. The dead and dying were together, while the living, surrounded by these and fearing their future, were clamorous for assistance. The whole of the Farrukhabad District suffered, and whole villages were completely deserted and depopulated.⁴

Many of the European civil and military officers were doing all they could to ameliorate this pitiable condition of the people. One Captain Wheeler of Fatehgarh, Farrukhabad, had for several years been maintaining an orphanage at his own expense. Before his transfer from Fatehgarh, Wheeler consulted our missionaries of Allahabad as to the

possibility of their taking charge of his orphanage. After the missionaries in Allahabad had tentatively decided to accept Captain Wheeler's offer, the H. R. Wilsons started towards Farrukhabad. While stopping in Cawnpore they received from Fatehpur, through which they had passed, an urgent invitation to return to that place and assume charge there of an orphanage run by Dr. Madden, a civil surgeon. Meanwhile Captain Wheeler, before leaving Fatehgarh, sent his boys and girls (or most of them) to an orphanage in Benares.

The Wilsons then suggested to Dr. Madden that if he would send his protégés to Cawnpore they would wait there for them, take them to Farrukhabad and there establish, or reopen, the orphanage. Dr. Madden sent not only fifty boys and girls but also money and equipment to the value of one thousand rupees. On 3 November 1838 the Wilsons arrived in Farrukhabad. On 19 November Mr. Wilson wrote thus to the home board:

On my arrival here I found twenty orphans ready to hold out their little hands to me for aid. I could not turn them out so I will add them to those coming by water. I trust that what I have done will meet with your entire approbation. Orphan boarding schools are by far the most encouraging.⁵

His last sentence evidently refers to ways and means of establishing missionary work. These seventy children were presumably housed in the quarters previously occupied by the orphans under the care of Captain Wheeler. The twenty children referred to in Mr. Wilson's letter may have been the remnant of the first orphanage or they may have gathered from the villages during the interval. In an early letter to their home friends the Wilsons wrote: "We rejoice that the Lord has directed our steps to this place."

We believe that during this century of growth they have continued to rejoice in this the Lord's work, and to sustain it by their intercessions. Within one year it was decided that Farrukhabad should become a permanent station and be developed *pari passu* with the work in Allahabad.

In May 1839 the Wilsons reported that the number of orphans had increased to one hundred and ten, due to accepting at least twenty more children from a Bareilly

orphanage which was henceforth supposed to be known as the Rohilkhand Branch. At a cost of three hundred rupees, six artisans were called from the Mirzapur carpet factory and carpet-weaving was begun, to supplant that of cloth-weaving. We learn further that the buildings occupied by the orphans and those used for a carpet factory were rented; that local Europeans showed much interest in this new work and that in addition to his main work of supervising the orphanage Mr. Wilson was now in charge also of a poor-house and a hospital.⁶

In August 1839 Rev. and Mrs. James L. Scott joined the Wilsons in Farrukhabad. Their location was nearer Fatehgarh than Farrukhabad, somewhere near the present town of Rakha. In October 1839 Mr. Scott's letter home stated that the work so far had cost the Board nothing, moreover that several hundred dollars (in the form of rupees) were on hand for the work. He was very much pleased with the first rugs which at the time of his writing had just been finished. The following extract is taken from Henry Wilson's journal dated 10 February 1839:

I had worship in the chapel for eighty-five orphans. After this about three hundred lame, halt and blind collected about my door as usual, to whom I preached through Gopi Nath's interpretation. In the afternoon I met my class of Christian youths. I rode one mile to the poor-house under my care. From a friendly officer in Agra I received six hundred rupees for the asylum. Another gentleman sent eight hundred rupees for the same. There is a request for one of the girls to be allowed to marry. I held my weekly lecture with the Europeans of the station. Hindu boys called for books and tracts.⁷

Wilson's journal of that first year contains the entry of frequent gifts for the orphan asylum. On one occasion he discovered four orphans among the inmates of the poor-house and brought them to the asylum. In September 1839 seventy-four of the orphans were baptized. For several months in 1840 while the Wilsons were recuperating in the hills and Gopi Nath was in Calcutta, the Scotts were in full charge. That year they reported a day school of sixty boys in Farrukhabad and a bazar school of thirty boys with an unsatisfactory teacher. The number of orphans had dropped to about one hundred, all of whom were making

progress both in their work and in their studies. There was some doubt as to whether the carpet-weaving business was on a paying basis. That matter probably caused little worry as long as liberal gifts continued to come in for the support of the work. The Scotts were pleased to be able to attend a mission meeting in Ludhiana. Returning by boat from Meerut they arrived home on Christmas Day and recorded: "We are cordially united in all our plans, views, and efforts in our missionary work."⁸

The sixth party of missionaries arrived in Calcutta from Boston in December 1840 and early the next year Rev. and Mrs. John C. Rankin, Rev. and Mrs. William H. McAuley and Miss Jane Vanderveer joined forces with the Wilsons and the Scotts near Farrukhabad. Miss Vanderveer, who was the first single lady missionary to be sent out by our Church to our Mission, served in Farrukhabad until 1846, when she resigned and returned to America. It was another ten years after her resignation before her successor came to the field.

In 1841 suitable land was secured on permanent lease and the first two bungalows were constructed from sun-dried bricks made on the spot. In the winter of 1841-42 H. R. Wilson made his first preaching tour. In 1842 report was made of the completion of two bungalows and an orphanage, the latter paid for by local subscriptions; the organization of a local church and the ordination of Gopi Nath Nundy as elder. The school which had been supported by Captain Wheeler was closed. Three other bazar schools were being taught by non-Christians who had promised to teach whatever they were told by the missionaries. In 1844 the cantonment magistrate offered the Mission the choice of land for a church and promised to furnish free prison-labor for the building of the same. The local church soon had twenty-nine communicant members. Land was taken at Barhpur midway between Farrukhabad and Fatehgarh. By 1844 two mission houses had been erected on this new compound. Also in 1844 the East India Company transferred to the Mission free of charge its school in Farrukhabad, for educational purposes. This marked a step in advance in our boys' educational work in that city.

Our mission premises, on account of the asylum for orphans established at the commencement of our missionary operations, were divided: part being near the city, for the purpose of acting on its large population; and part near the cantonment (Fatehgarh) and surrounding villages, to secure orphans from the evil influence of a large city. The premises of the asylum were called Rakha, and those near the city, Barhpur. Each of these premises contained two mission bungalows for the four mission families composing the Fatehgarh mission. The Rakha premises were on a grant of land given to the mission by the government for an indefinite number of years (99 year lease), or so long as it might be required by us for the use of the orphan asylum. This land was formerly the artillery parade ground, an immense plain comprising sixty acres, unfenced and uncultivated for many years. In the early days when Fatehgarh was a frontier station a large artillery force was deemed necessary for its defence. After it lost its importance as a frontier station, this land was made over, on application, to the mission at a rental of fifty cents per acre. At the time of the Mutiny it was the prettiest and healthiest part of Fatehgarh. By 1857 on this compound were the two mission bungalows, the church, school-house, industrial plant and a Christian village of at least two hundred souls.⁹

Missionary J. J. Walsh, author of the above paragraph, goes on to give us more interesting history of the early days of Rakha village:

Our Christian village at Fatehgarh grew out of the asylum. From the very first it was our design that as the children grew up we should have them marry and settle in a Christian colony, furnishing them with suitable employment and retaining them under Christian influences. Accordingly as our wards grew up and were married, we built for them houses, and these buildings have so multiplied as to entitle the place to the name of a village which has been called Isaipur or Christian town. It consists of two rows of mud-walled buildings, divided by a wide street which is lined with a row of trees on each side. At the end facing the road is a large gate, and at the other end opposite the gate is a very respectably sized village hall. The village has its own Panchayat or court of inquiry. The hall was built by money raised in the village. The people would still be poor starving children, ignorant of God and His holy Word, had not Christianity thrown over them the mantle of purity and elevation. Though they are a little flock, it cannot be said that they are feeble, for their influence is felt and increasing more and more. The future is radiant with hope and pregnant with promise. . . . The manufacture of woollen carpets was successful and the tent department flourished beyond our expectations and

furnished means of permanent support to the villages and orphans. There have been objections and difficulties. The greatest defect of our plan exhibited itself in a want of self-reliance and manliness on the part of our people; it kept them in a state of tutelage.¹⁰

J. L. Scott's first impression of the result of the Mutiny was that these same people seemed "more manly and self-reliant." He thought that in the future they would have no difficulty in getting situations for them and that they would have "a standing in the community as a respectable class of men."¹¹

Mr. Campbell has charge of the church at Farrukhabad and is the principal bazar preacher. Mr. Johnson has charge of the city school, which is large and flourishing and occupies the most of his time. Mrs. Campbell has charge of the girls' bazar school consisting of thirty pupils and taught by a Christian woman. Mrs. Johnson has also opened one at Farrukhabad and has ten girls reading. Mr. Freeman has charge of the Christian village (Rakha) of about one hundred and eighty-seven inhabitants. Their occupation is tent-making and weaving. We have also quite a large church on the premises which is nearly filled every Sabbath. It is very pleasant to see so many Christians together. (Mrs. Freeman in 1856).

In a village a few miles from us the leading pundit was the first to renounce Hinduism and is now zealous to bring others to the Saviour. This interest was first produced in that village by opening a school which was supported by our Rakha Christians and taught by one of them. At first the chief pundit and others came to dispute about Christianity but before long they came as willing students. . . . Those who have renounced Hinduism have endured a great deal of persecution, but they do not seem to be the least discouraged. They have subscribed considerable money toward building a church. (Mrs. Campbell in 1853).¹²

It is unfortunate that Mr. Walsh did not continue his narrative long enough to give in like manner a detailed history of the early days of Barhpur. At the time of writing his mind must have centred on the Rakha Christian community and the wanton destruction of the church which he had so recently erected. So far as we know no other building except perhaps a hostel for boys was erected on the Barhpur compound before the fateful days of 1857.

The Rakha Church which was organized in 1841 consisted of ten charter members of whom four were Indian

Christians. There was a gradual annual growth in numbers and progress in spiritual matters and the membership had gone beyond one hundred by June 1857. This figure included a score or more who had been dismissed to help found other churches. In 1849, as the result of a local revival, twenty-eight new members were added to the church. In November 1845 the Rakha congregation had the honor and pleasure of acting as host to the delegates to the First Synod held in India. James Wilson of Allahabad was elected Moderator of Synod that year. Julian F. Ullman, formerly a member of a German lay mission in Bengal, who had come into our group in 1848, was ordained by Farrukhabad Presbytery in October 1849. In December 1855 Farrukhabad was the scene of an historic meeting when the first meeting of the missionaries of Farrukhabad and Allahabad, later to be called the annual meeting of the Mission, was held. We assume that Rakha was the honored place of this gathering. During this memorable and delightful occasion of ten days duration it was decided that the several stations, now four in all, should be united in an organization and be called the Farrukhabad Mission.

Another action more pertinent to the immediate narrative gave permission to Mr. Walsh to build a new church edifice to supplant the old building which was no longer adequate to the needs of the growing community. This second church, which cost about six thousand dollars, was paid for largely by subscriptions of local Christians. It was a strong brick building, eighty by fifty feet, whose spire reached the height of one hundred and twenty-six feet. Mr. Walsh must have begun work on the new church at once, for on 18 October 1856 the new sanctuary was dedicated and opened for regular use. Little did this faithful builder dream how soon the work of his hands in building the house of God would be desecrated by misled mutineers!

Robert S. Fullerton, on a visit to Farrukhabad in January 1852, was much impressed with progress in Rakha. "Last Sabbath they had their communion, a delightful season to us. The little church is one of the most cheering objects in all the North-Western Provinces. It contains about seventy members; two joined last Sabbath, both adults. A

more cleanly, well behaved congregation is not to be found anywhere. There are almost one hundred children who are receiving a Christian education."¹³

The Farrukhabad City school for boys, opened by Mr. Scott about 1839, must have been started in rented quarters. As already stated, the Government of that day closed its school in 1844 or 1845 and the Governor, Mr. J. Thomason, gave orders that the books, maps, furniture and all other equipment should be turned over to the Mission. Our mission school was at once moved into the building vacated by Government. Figures in the Board report of 1849, tell us that at that time there were one hundred and three boys in the Farrukhabad high school, thirty-four boys in a boarding school, thirty-three girls in another boarding school while eighty-four pupils were studying in four bazar schools. We cannot tell how many of the one hundred and three high school boys were Christian, but not many.¹⁴

The following paragraph on Farrukhabad is taken from Mrs. Holcomb's history of the Mission:

During the year 1855 an effort was made to raise funds for the erection of a substantial church building at Rakha, and for this object the Maharajah Dulip Singh sent a donation of five hundred rupees, promising a larger amount should it be required. The Maharajah also contributed means for the support of ten village schools. The high school in Farrukhabad was in a flourishing condition, and beside the school connected with the orphan asylum, there was a cantonment school for boys, one for girls, four bazar schools for boys, as well as schools in the city for girls.¹⁵

This chapter may well close with two vivid pictures of those early days, pictures drawn by the persons then engaged in the work.

The evening of their (Mr. and Mrs. D. E. Campbells') arrival in the Allahabad camel carriage is distinctly remembered by the author (J. J. Walsh) at whose house they stopped. The only two missionaries at Fatehgarh then were Messrs. Walsh and Seeley, both of whom, on the arrival of the Campbells and Fullertons, were absent from home to attend the examination of the city school by the Lieutenant Governor. On our return it was our happiness to find these dear friends and give them cordial welcome.¹⁶

We have moved back to Barhpur, our first home in India; this place is near the city and three miles from Rakha, which was our home from 13 January 1852 till the day before yesterday. There has been a complete change of people in this Mission (station) since we came to it, February 1851. The bungalow we have just left is to be occupied by Mr. and Mrs. McMullin, new missionaries on their way here. The other bungalow in Rakha which was occupied by Mr. Walsh is now occupied by Mr. Freeman. We have come back to our first house which has since we left it been occupied by Mr. Ullman. Mr. Johnson (A. O.) lives in the other bungalow in this compound. So now when we get settled there will be four missionaries (families) at Fatehgarh.¹⁶

During the first period of missionary work in Farrukhabad twelve devoted couples served Christ and His Church in this historic field. It is not possible in this brief history to enumerate in detail the brave and sacrificial deeds of these consecrated pioneers. Up to 1857, these twenty-four people had given a total of sixty-one years of service, or an average of five years plus, that is, counting the couples as one individual and not deducting for furloughs and the deaths of Mrs. Scott and Mrs. Seeley. The longest term of service was ten years, that of the McAuleys, while the shortest was only five months, that of the newest recruits and early martyrs, the McMullins. Miss Vanderveer resigned after six years in India. In May 1857 the record stood as follows: Resignations, five (excluding Miss Vanderveer's); transfers, two; on furlough, one; on duty, four. One hesitates to make such a comparison when he remembers how soon those on duty in 1857 were called upon to sacrifice their lives for Christ and His Church.

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- ³ See *Government Gazetteers and Census reports of 1881*.
- ⁴ *Martyred Missionaries*, p. 38.
- ⁵ *Foreign Mission Chronicle*, 1839.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 1839.
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- ⁹ *Martyred Missionaries*, J. J. WALSH, pp. 31-32.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 45 ff.
- ¹¹ Scott's letters.
- ¹² *Martyred Missionaries*, pp. 186 and 225.
- ¹³ R. S. Fullerton, J. J. LUCAS, 1928, p. 42.
- ¹⁴ See Board report.
- ¹⁵ *History of A. P. Missions in India*, 1886, p. 124.
- ¹⁶ *Martyred Missionaries*, pp. 200 and 230.
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pp. 719-20.

CHAPTER III

FIRST-FRUITS, THE STORY OF THREE CONVERTS

GOPI NATH NUNDY

THIS chapter will tell how an orphan boy, a student of Bengal and a Punjab Prince were all three brought into the same brotherhood by the power of Christ.

Dr. E. M. Wherry in his history of our missions in India gave the salient points in the interesting life of Gopi Nath Nundy.¹ Perhaps nothing more inspiring is to be found in the annals of these early days than the account of this convert and his wife. Gopi Nath Nundy, a native of Calcutta, became interested in Christianity while studying under Alexander Duff, the famous missionary of Bengal. Being convinced of the truth which is in Christ Jesus he was baptized by Dr. Duff in December 1832. Soon after his conversion Gopi Nath came to what is now known as the United Provinces. He was a teacher in Dr. Madden's orphanage in Fatehpur when our work was opened in Farrukhabad. In 1838, upon invitation of Henry R. Wilson, he came with the orphans to Farrukhabad and was at once made assistant to and interpreter for Mr. Wilson. Just here we may let Gopi Nath speak for himself in a quotation from his own article which appeared in the *Foreign Missionary Chronicle* of 1843:

A few months after my conversion I left Calcutta with Archdeacon Corrie then on tour to the Upper Provinces. A door was opened for me at Fatehpur. I am much indebted to Dr. Madden for his kindness, instruction and advice. Dr. Madden left after the death of his wife and I, instead of accepting work in Benares, decided to help Mr. Wilson. I met Mr. Wilson in Cawnpore and in a few days we were in Fatehgarh laying the foundation of our future missionary labors. We have contended with many difficulties and so far have seen but little fruit. I send my thanks to you and to the Committee. Calcutta friends tried to persuade me to go back there but God did not allow me to yield. My wife is also a convert and we have two children. Pray for us and for India.²

When the Rakha Church was organized in 1841, Gopi Nath and his wife became charter members of it. He was chosen as its first elder. In 1842 he read a paper before Farrukhabad Presbytery on the superiority of Christianity over Hinduism. He argued five points, namely: (1) Hinduism is too complicated, variegated and vague. (2) There is no communion with a pure and holy God. (3) There is nothing in Hinduism to excite virtue. (4) There is nothing to promote the peace of society nor the mutual benefit of mankind. (5) Hinduism has no Saviour.³ This essay bears testimony to the fact that this Bengali student had made much spiritual progress since becoming a Christian.

In December 1844, as a result of his Christian growth and excellent service, Gopi Nath Nundy was ordained as a minister of the Gospel by the Presbytery of Farrukhabad. Thus he became the first ordained Indian minister within the bounds of our Mission and Church. In 1840, after Gopi Nath had returned from a visit to Calcutta, James L. Scott wrote of him: "Gopi Nath is very highly valued. Dr. Duff tried to get him for his own mission. He promised him ordination and double his salary, but Gopi felt that duty was calling him back to Fatehgarh."⁴

In Henry Wilson's journal we find many references to Gopi Nath's invaluable assistance as an interpreter. He continued his acceptable service in Farrukhabad as teacher, preacher and supervisor until 1853, when he was sent to his former station of Fatehpur to open work in that place. During the first two years in Fatehpur he built a bungalow, a chapel and some teachers' houses. Very soon the mission school was so well known and so efficient that the Government school was closed. The coming of the railroad somewhat changed the local situation. The jail in which Mr. Nundy availed himself of the permission granted to him to preach to prisoners, was removed to Allahabad. On Gopi Nath's recommendation the original site was abandoned and a new site, quite near the railway station, was occupied.

In 1856 Mr. and Mrs. A. O. Johnson made a preaching tour from Farrukhabad to Allahabad. Mr. Johnson's journal of December first of that year contains the following paragraph:

We came fourteen miles to the city of Fatehpur, and encamped in the compound of the Reverend Gopi Nath Nundy. He, as is well known, was one of the first converts from heathenism of Dr. Duff and has served our Board for a number of years as a faithful steward. Here he has collected a nice little congregation of thirty persons, principally the fruits of his own labors. While here, we were pleased to see that the cultivation of the soil was in successful operation, conducted entirely by converts, and the most sanguine expectations are entertained for its future results. I had the pleasure of visiting two very large and flourishing schools under the supervision of this brother, one for boys and the other for girls, in both of which the Bible and Shorter Catechism are made textbooks. During our stay we accompanied Gopi Nath to the bazar where we had a pleasant season. Gopi Nath is peculiarly adapted to this work; having himself been a Hindu he knows just how to meet their arguments and put to silence the most forward and boisterous of the Brahmans.⁵

The faithful witness of these two converts and their assistants was stronger than ever when it was suddenly interrupted by the soldiers' rebellion of 1857. Gopi Nath, his wife and three children fled towards Allahabad. His own vivid account, published in the *Foreign Missionary Chronicle* of September 1858, runs in part as follows:

We were without clothes having only a rag about two feet square; our children were altogether naked. Everything we had was plundered before we were brought into the presence of the Maulvi (judge). The saving of our lives was a miracle. Many other Christians were slaughtered. Ten or twelve times we were brought to the very brink of the grave. Starvation, nakedness and the sword brought us to a wretched state while the grace of God kept us faithful. The judge threatened to cut off our limbs and to torture us. He tried to persuade my wife to adjure the Christian faith. He ordered us to be put in prison for future trial. Thus we came through our fiery trials praising and glorifying Jesus.

When the country was once more quiet after the disturbances of 1857, this India pastor returned with his family to his labors in Fatehpur and continued there until 1861, when failing health forced him to give up his work. In March of that same year he died in Fatehgarh. His last words were: "I trust Jesus whom I have preached to others." In the letters of Secretary John C. Lowrie there is frequent and appreciative mention of this our first ordained minister. It is an item for thanksgiving that Gopi Nath

was honored by his colleagues and that his life and work were well known in the American Church. In Lowrie's letter of 1861 we read of the "sad news of Gopi Nath Nundy's death . . . the accessions to the church just before his departure were a happy testimony of God's blessing on his ministry."⁶

The Board in refusing to provide a pension for his widow made some mention of the need of the beginning of self-support. However, the Mission granted Mrs. Gopi Nath an allowance of twenty rupees per month during the remaining four years of her life. It would be inspiring to the present generation if the lives of these two zealous pioneers could be written in detail and translated and become known and read of all, both old and young.

ISHWARI DAS

Ishwari Das, the orphan boy, apparently knew nothing of his ancestry except that he had been born a Hindu. In the introduction to his book on *Hindu Manners and Customs*, he had this to say about himself:

I beg to say that by an afflictive dispensation of a wise Providence I lost my parents in early childhood. This came in the shape of famine which swept away thousands and made hundreds of children orphans. I was then with others taken under the care of Dr. Charles Madden, Esq., a pious and benevolent gentleman in the medical service of the British East India Government and was under his care for about five years. I was next taken under the care of Reverend Henry R. Wilson, a missionary from America and was with him about ten years. (Wilson's were in India, 1838-46). It was with this gentleman that I paid a visit to England and America. I was very thankful to the Sovereign Disposer of all events that my lines have fallen in such pleasant places. I have been highly favored in that both of my guardians have paid the most faithful attention to my mental, moral and spiritual education and improvement, and I shall always be under the greatest obligation to them for their kindness.⁷

He must have been at least twelve years old when he was transferred with other orphans from Fatehpur to Rakha, where he lived until he went with the Wilsons to America in 1845 or 1846. He spent at least two years abroad. He was early complimented by missionaries because of his

studious habits and excellent English speech. After his return from America, Ishwari Das was appointed a teacher in the Farrukhabad high school, later serving as head-master after 1859. Poor eye-sight forced him to take lighter work in the form of the head-mastership of the Rakha boys' school. He was engaged as a translator by the American Tract Society.

During the Mutiny he and his family fled to nearby villages where they suffered many hardships for about three weeks, finally making their way as far as Cawnpore. Tiring of "the life of a rat" they had just decided to throw themselves on the mercy of the rebel Nana, when came the joyful news that the Mutineers had been subdued.

He was the author of an English-Urdu manual and also composed several school text-books in Urdu. In addition to the book mentioned above this author prepared a four-hundred page treatise on Christian Theology, a work which won him a prize of several hundred rupees. His essay on female education won a prize of three hundred rupees. Regarding his life and services up to 1857, J. J. Walsh wrote:

As a teacher he stands high; he is faithful and well equipped. As a scholar, teacher and author he has earned a good reputation and is making his influence felt far and near. India needs such men. He has aided the cause by some of his translations for which he possesses no ordinary qualifications.⁸

In the autumn of 1865 Ishwari Das was chosen to succeed Edward Sayre in Fatehpur to carry on the work which had been started with such great promise by Gopi Nath Nundy. Accordingly on 12 January 1866 an ordination service for him was held in Rakha Church "in the presence of a large and deeply interested congregation and, with bright hope, this evangelist was sent forth to his new field."⁹ He was subsequently installed pastor of the Fatehpur Church. But alas! these bright hopes were short-lived, for about one year later he was compelled to return with his family to his home in Fatehgarh, in broken health. He lived only a short time after this, death claiming him on 2 May 1867.

Appreciation of his life and work is frequently found in annual mission reports and also in Secretary Lowrie's

letters to India. Mrs. Holcomb in her jubilee history of the Mission, after referring to his patience during his last illness, spoke of him in these words: "In every way Ishwari Das sought to be useful to his own people and was in consequence greatly loved and respected by his countrymen."¹⁰ He was also greatly loved and respected by his American colleagues. He was barely forty when he was translated to higher service, but his earthly record stands true for the emulation of all Christians.¹¹

HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJAH DULIP SINGH

It must have been gratifying to the founders of our work to have among the first-fruits of their labors not only those with economic and intellectual needs, but also a "rich young ruler" whose greatest need was neither economic nor intellectual, but spiritual. This third story is the account of a man in a very different station in life and one whose life and witness seemed to be a great inspiration and benefit to the early missionaries and the work, as well as to the converts from the more lowly walks of life. The following sketch of Dulip Singh is taken mainly from chapter six of J. J. Walsh's memorial volume.¹² Dulip Singh was a member of that famous Sikh race whose spiritual needs Elisha Swift had held up before our first missionaries to India. Though he was not taught and baptized by our missionaries, his Christian life became a part of our early history.

Fatehgarh was honored as being the spiritual birthplace of the first Christian Prince of India, His Highness the Maharajah Dulip Singh. Though not a member of our church we feel that no mention of our work in Fatehgarh would be complete without some reference to this interesting personage and his connection with Christianity. His first sight and knowledge of Christian truth originated with our little church. There was something winning about his face which could not but be the impress of his new religious faith. He was the son of Ranjit Singh, a Sikh ruler of the Punjab, and known as the Lion of the Punjab. Being a great warrior and statesman he conquered many small states and consolidated them into an empire. At his death in 1839 his four-

year old son, Dulip Singh, was placed on the throne. At the end of a bellicose period, when in 1849 the British annexed the Punjab, the Government appointed Sir John Login, M.D., of the medical service, as guardian for Dulip Singh, who was then fourteen. Dr. Login, who was a member of the Presbyterian Church, took over his new duties and in 1850 brought his charge to Fatehgarh in Farrukhabad District. Mr. Walter F. Guise, who perished with the Fatehgarh missionaries on 13 June 1857, a man not only of high moral standards but also of a religious nature, was appointed tutor to the young Maharajah. Mr. Guise undertook the mammoth job of reforming this petted Prince at an age when hopes of success were not high. But by his good example, his integrity and manifestation of Christian firmness and humility he soon began to see his protégé coming under restraint. Bhajan Lal, a local boy, a Brahman who had been educated in our high school, was chosen for Dulip Singh's companion. These two youths were soon intimate friends. While in school Bhajan Lal had acquired a taste for the Bible and the young Prince often noticed him in his spare moments reading the Book of books. In answer to his question the Prince was told that the book was the Christians' Bible. Upon request Bhajan Lal agreed to read the Bible with his royal companion provided the fact was kept a secret.

Thus began his Scriptural education. He had now reached the age of discretion and original thinking and began to wonder why the Sikh priests, who were in his daily service, were such unworthy men. Their habits of greed and selfishness seemed to him to be quite contrary to the teaching of Christ. He soon made his request for baptism but was told to take more time to study this new religion, the acceptance of which would mean more than a mere change of customs. His spiritual progress was such that his advisers were soon gratified with his intelligent grasp of Christian truths. He was baptized on 8 March 1853 at the age of eighteen. The ceremony of baptism took place at his own palace and was performed by the military chaplain of the station, Rev. W. J. Jay. This new disciple had not only been taught by missionaries but had also been instructed by

a tutor who was a member of our church and by a Hindu who was a graduate of our high school.

It was impressive to see this rich young ruler, clad in kingly robes, renouncing his old religious beliefs and professing his faith in Christ his Saviour. Both in Lahore and in Fatehgarh this new convert established relief for the poor under the supervision of the missions, a work of charity which cost about 300 dollars a month. As a result of his baptism he lost his earthly kingdom but gained eternal life. About one year after his baptism he visited England, taking with him as his companion Nil Kanth, a Brahman convert from Benares. His old chum Bhajan Lal could not be persuaded to leave India. In England Dulip Singh was received by Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Mr. Walsh who wrote in 1858 naturally had to end his story here. Various sources provide further information about this rich young convert. Mention has already been made of his gift of five hundred rupees in 1856, towards the erection of the Rakha Church. From the time of his conversion until about 1894 he supported ten or twelve day schools for boys in and near Fatehgarh and Farrukhabad. His mother continued to live with her son until her death in 1863, but she never became a Christian. In this respect he was like the late Sadhu Sundar Singh, who on one occasion was deeply grieved when some one suggested that he could not see his mother in Heaven. While in Egypt he fell in love with and married a Coptic girl of Cairo. Except for travel he spent the rest of his life in England. The later years of his life are not mentioned in missionary annals. Either because of transferred interests or because of lack of funds, he stopped his benevolences to our work early in the nineties. One can imagine that this one episode in Mr. Walsh's book must have made it popular, even though the purpose of Walsh's writing was wholly other.

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CHAPTER IV

THE WORK EXTENDED TO MAINPURI AND AGRA

MAINPURI, 1843-57

Mr. and Mrs. James L. Scott	1843-45
Mr. and Mrs. J. Johnston Walsh	1845-51
Mr. and Mrs. Robert S. Fullerton	1851-52
Mr. and Mrs. John E. Freeman	1852-56
Mr. and Mrs. Julian F. Ullman	1856-57

ABOVE are given the names of the five couples who began and carried on the work in Mainpuri between the years of 1843 and 1857. Except for very short intervals there was at any one time only one family in residence in Mainpuri during the ante-Mutiny period.

Mrs. Holcomb's narrative of the beginning of our work in Mainpuri is very vivid:

In January 1843 Henry R. Wilson visited Mainpuri and its neighborhood in reference to establishing a mission station. He brought back a favorable report and accordingly Rev. and Mrs. James L. Scott were appointed by the Mission to open work in Mainpuri. They began their work about 1 December 1843. The civil surgeon, Dr. Guise, gave them a most cordial welcome not only to the station but also to his own house where they remained until the end of December, when the house they had engaged was ready to receive them. A few months before the arrival of the Scotts, Dr. Guise had opened a school for boys and this school he transferred to Mr. Scott who found it necessary, as the school rapidly increased in numbers, to erect a building for its accommodation.¹

Mainpuri, a county-seat town, with a population in those days of about twelve thousand, is situated on the low divide about mid-way between the Ganges and Jumna Rivers. It is the geographical center of all our rural church population. The early missionaries, whether they left the Ganges at Cawnpore or at Farrukhabad, must have passed through Mainpuri District on their way towards the Punjab. A few years before this narrative begins the Grand Trunk Road which passes about nine miles from Mainpuri had been

opened for military purposes, from Calcutta to the Punjab. Mainpuri is on the main highway between Farrukhabad and Agra, about thirty-five miles from Etawah to the south and Etah to the North. Although rather too far from either river to retain any great depth of alluvial soil, Mainpuri District is nevertheless one of the garden spots of India and is densely populated with fairly prosperous villages. Mr. Wilson may have had a vision of Christ ruling in the villages when he brought back a report which resulted in the opening of this station. E. M. Wherry, commenting on the above quotation from Mrs. Holcomb, calls our attention to the fact that "here as elsewhere the first form of evangelistic work open to the missionaries was education."²

Mr. Scott's letters tell us that he and his wife reached Mainpuri on 17 November, and "the station of Mainpuri was commenced" that very same day. They moved into their own house on New Year's Day, 1844. The new boys' school which he readily took over had "a daily average attendance of about one hundred scholars" who were "making encouraging progress in their studies."³ These two years were very full ones for the Scotts as they engaged in teaching, preaching and building.

The extant records contain little news about the period 1845-51, when the Walshs were in Mainpuri. Mr. Walsh, who wrote so acceptably about the work of his colleagues, apparently did not find time to write about his own work. He spoke of six months "close supervision" which were required to complete the school building which Mr. Scott had begun. Once a week he preached Christ to the one hundred or more workmen who were engaged in the building operations. Mr. Walsh told how the novelty of a magic lantern interested the people and for a time drew large crowds.⁴

The short period of service of the Fullertons is fully depicted in J. J. Lucas' memoir of Robert S. Fullerton. Their letters to friends at home gave detailed accounts of their new life in a far away land.

The yard is large and contains many young trees. On the premises near the road stands the church. Just back of our house is a garden of about two acres surrounded by a hedge. The rose blooms the year around and oleanders even grow wild.

Roasting ears are abundant and very cheap. We can get ten or twelve for a cent. The country abounds in ugly creatures—white-ants, crickets, toads, lizards and scorpions all infest the house. In two months we have killed forty-four scorpions in this house. One stung me and gave me a sore arm for three days. Last Sabbath the servant who opened the chapel killed five scorpions and a big cobra in it . . . after morning tea I go to school where I remain till about nine o'clock. I preach every Sabbath in the chapel and on the first of every month to the beggars who come for alms. The last time one hundred and seventy came. . . . The work seems to increase in importance every day. . . . We are glad we came. We hope to become instruments in winning souls to Christ.⁵

In a letter dated January 1852 Mr. Fullerton stated that as yet there were no converts in Mainpuri and that the local Rajah had been present at the inspection of the school the month previous. He went on in the same letter to express his thanks for the sympathy and the helpful influence and the pecuniary assistance of the local European officials. There were by that time one hundred and fifty boys in the school.

John E. Freeman and his second wife took up the work in Mainpuri in 1852, and carried on for about four years. We read of Mr. Freeman's erecting a new school building. Records do not reveal whether this was a brand new building on a different site or whether it was on the old site and made use of the original school building. There is mention of this building in the jubilee history of the Mission.

In April 1856 the new school building in Mainpuri planned and built by Mr. Freeman was ready for occupancy. This building had been erected at a cost of about five thousand rupees, and this amount had been subscribed chiefly by European friends in India. Before entering the new building the fee-paying system was adopted for the first time in Mainpuri.⁶

This building which today is still in use as a high school building was for a short time used as a court by the Mutineers of 1857.

During their first year in this station Mr. Freeman wrote: "We ride daily, labor hard and all goes on smoothly and happily. Our school is improving and we have good audiences and attentive hearers with but little opposition."

In 1856 two Hindus were baptized, a woman and her son. Hulasi was mentioned as an assistant preacher and catechist.

The best account of these years is found in the home letters of Mrs. Freeman, extracts from which are given below:

March 1853. There has been great excitement and commotion here because of the visit of the Lieutenant Governor. He invited us to dine with him one evening. He and some other gentlemen visited our school. They were pleased with the work and especially the answers given in the Bible classes. He gave us two hundred rupees for the new school building. Mr. Freeman is going on with the new school building though Mr. Lowrie could not promise him any assistance. There is grave danger of cheating and thieving in connection with the building but they have to get up early to cheat Mr. Freeman. January 1854. In our Mainpuri church we have service in Hindustani which I can profit but little by as yet; but I always attend to set the tune and help with the singing. . . . Walked five miles this morning. The overland letters arrived last night at twelve. We arose before daylight to read them. Mr. Freeman had put them under my pillow and did not tell me till morning. . . . Cholera is raging, two or three hundred die daily. . . . The last mail brought out an order for most of the Queen's troops to leave India for the seat of war in Crimea, leaving India in the hands of native regiments, which my husband says is a great mistake, but I suppose the powers that be know best. September 1856. Today I had the precious privilege of sitting down at the table of the Lord and also of seeing my poor old woman, Lallia, standing up and confessing the Lord Jesus Christ to be her only Saviour. She was baptized and then partook of the holy communion. She has memorized the Catechism, the Ten Commandments and some prayers. I believe she is a true Christian. The son was not baptized as Mr. Freeman thought it best for him to wait till the next communion.⁷

These letters speak of their tent life among the villagers, of a visit to a rich Nawab and of many other personal things which go to make up the varied lives of missionaries.

This quiet and effective foundational work in one of India's rural centers had reached its fourteenth year and the Ullmans were serving their first year in Mainpuri when alarming news caused them to flee for their lives to Agra. Measured in terms of new converts the results up to that time had been very meager and did not compare favorably with the many baptisms which had taken place in Fatehpur.

But God was working, however slowly, and He did not allow His work to be interrupted for very long.

AGRA, 1845-63

Allahabad, Farrukhabad, Agra! the Apostle Paul would doubtless have included these three cities in his very first itinerary. Allahabad religiously, commercially, educationally and politically has always been in the foreground. Farrukhabad has been obliged to wane commercially while it waxes in mission matters. Agra, the erstwhile Capital, has a lasting source of fame in her historic Fort and magnificent Taj Mahal.

Our Presbyterian Church made a contribution to Agra of more than two decades of Christian service. Whether it was God's will for us to serve there temporarily and then quietly withdraw, or whether in 1844-45 the pressing invitation of European friends prevailed over and above the divine voice, no one can say. It is the work of the historian to narrate and if possible to appraise, but at all events to record events as accurately as possible.

In 1844, when this part of India was still under the management of the East India Company, the seat of government of the North-west Provinces was transferred from Allahabad to Agra, the former Capital of the famous Mogul Ruler, Akbar the Great.⁸ This transfer necessarily removed from Allahabad many English friends of the Mission who had rendered much aid by their interest and financial support. Consequently in 1845 our missionaries decided to open work in this new Capital on the Jumna. Mrs. Holcomb tells us that "the missionaries were led to this decision not only because the field was a large and important one, but the friends who had so generously aided them in Allahabad assured them that in Agra the same help and sympathy would be extended to them."⁹

Mr. and Mrs. James Wilson of Allahabad and Mr. and Mrs. John C. Rankin of Fatehgarh were appointed to open work in the new station. Mr. Rankin's journal of 10 December 1845 contains this: "The last month has been taken up with preparations for and march to this place (Agra). Much distraction of mind has existed. Thanks

to the Lord I now begin to feel a little at home in our new position. May God give me grace to know and do my duty here."¹⁰ Soon after their arrival in Agra this city became the headquarters of the newly formed North India Bible Society of which Mr. Wilson was appointed the first secretary. In 1848 the Wilsons had the honor of acting as host to the delegates of the second meeting of Synod.

Few details are known of the early years in Agra. Both Wilson and Rankin were preachers and writers while their wives were teachers. In his history of our Missions Mr. Wherry states that Agra in those days was a centre of conflict between Muslim and Christian scholars.

Rev. C. Gottleib, Rev. William Smith and Samuel T. Leupholt of the C. M. Society with James Wilson and John C. Rankin were champions on the Christian side. The outcome of this controversy was the conversion of several men of note, who became leaders. . . . J. C. Rankin wrote a notable reply to a memorable assault upon Christianity by a Moslem Maulvi in a book called *Reply to Sauleet Uz Zaigham*.¹¹

On account of the indifferent health of Mr. Rankin, the Rankins were obliged to leave India in November 1847. The Wilsons carried on alone until 1851, when they were succeeded by the Scotts and Warrens. Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Warren moved to Agra in December, in which very month the new Agra Church was dedicated. There had been an arrangement with the local Baptists for a union church service, but this did not continue because of dissatisfaction on the part of the Baptists. Branches of both the Bible Society and the Tract Society were located on the mission compound and consequently our missionaries in turn found themselves responsible for this new and worthy work.¹²

From the very beginning of our work in Agra there had been an urgent request from the European people for a good English school. J. L. Scott in 1851 took up this matter where Mr. Wilson had been obliged to drop it and succeeded in raising funds for a building. The Board gave permission for the opening of the school, most of the funds for which were subscribed in India. The Honorable James Thomason, Lieutenant Governor, made a gift of one thousand rupees towards this worthy object. The third and final

step of inaugurating the school remained for the Fullertons to take, they having been sent to Agra especially for this work. In March 1852, with an enrolment of six boys, the new school was opened in a rented bungalow near the Presbyterian Church. Very soon a larger building had to be secured. R. E. Williams was made manager of the school.¹³

Mrs. Fullerton opened a private school for girls which soon grew into a girls' English school. On the eve of moving to Agra Robert Fullerton wrote thus to his brothers: "There is a large class of people in Agra called East Indians, one of whose parents is European and the other Indian. They have perfect command of both English and Hindustani. For this class the Committee in New York have decided to establish a school in Agra, with a view to raising up from their midst catechists, teachers and ministers to aid us in our work."¹⁴ One wonders whether the Governor had this type of school in mind when he gave his liberal contribution to the Agra school.

The letters included in J. J. Lucas' memoir to the Fullertons convey a rather detailed account of their happy years in Agra. A former dancing parlor had been converted into a home for them. The girls' school was opened in 1853, and the boarders lived with the Fullertons. Both the schools closed just before Christmas for the winter vacation. In 1853 they reported an enrolment of eighty boys and about forty girls. In writing of their great loss in the death of Governor James Thomason they stated that he had given fifteen hundred rupees for the two schools during the last year of his life. Some of Mr. Fullerton's other duties were: preparing three sermons a week as pastor of the church, supervising a school for forty Indian boys, teaching a weekly Bible Class and coaching a theological student. By 1855 the total number in both schools had risen to 166.

At the outbreak of the Mutiny our Mainpuri and Agra missionaries found shelter in Agra's strong and commodious fort. One of the Fullerton letters contains the touching tale how, at the last minute when their massacre was imminent, the local Indian Christians were permitted to find safety inside the fort. The mission property was all destroyed except the church.

The rest of the Agra narrative is quickly told. The Fullertons continued there until March 1858, when they were transferred to Farrukhabad. The Scotts were sent to Rakha, Farrukhabad, while R. E. Williams was transferred to Allahabad the same year. The seat of government was soon transferred back to Allahabad.

Miss Mary L. Browning, the second single lady missionary to be assigned to our Mission, had reached Agra in 1856, but in a few months Mrs. Fullerton announced the happy news of Miss Browning's engagement to Mr. David Herron of our Punjab Mission. Without equipment and without the impetus of their former friends, the missionaries had to face the question of our future work in Agra. The Owens, against their wish, were transferred from Allahabad to Agra in 1860, but they returned to their former station in May 1863. During his stay in Agra Mr. Owen spent most of his time rewriting manuscripts of his which had been destroyed in the Mutiny. In 1860 talk of closing Agra began. By 1862 it was clear from Secretary Lowrie's letter that Agra was to be abandoned. In January 1863 Agra station was considered closed, the work having been relinquished in order to commence new work in Etawah. It is interesting to note that J. F. Ullman who began our Etawah work was strongly opposed to the decision regarding Agra. As late as 1873, there was correspondence on the matter of reopening this work; in fact the Holcombs were actually appointed to go to reoccupy the city of the Taj Mahal.¹⁵

This intention to send the Holcombs to Agra was the last effort to revive our pre-Mutiny work in Agra. As regards property the sequel occurred at the very recent date of 1935. About 1891 the Scottish Church and property were transferred to Rev. C. S. Valentine, M.D., of the U.P. Church, Scottish. Two or three years later Mr. Valentine gave this property to our Mission. Part of the property was sold some years ago and the remainder of it—the abandoned church building and compound—was sold to the same man in 1935. The graveyard situated west of the old church, and just near the road leading to Delhi, is still under the care of the property committee of the North India Mission.

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CHAPTER V

DESTRUCTION, DESOLATION AND DISCOURAGEMENT CAUSED BY THE MUTINEERS OF 1857

BEFORE the sad interruption of 1857 the mission force in all stations except Allahabad was as strong as it had ever been. There were at that time two families in Allahabad, four in Fatehgarh-Farrukhabad, one in Mainpuri and two families plus Mr. Williams in Agra, while the good work in Fatehpur was in charge of Gopi Nath Nundy.

There never was a time when the work was more encouraging and the prospect more pleasing. We were happy and diligent in our labors and had so many tokens of approval from the hands of our Master as to stimulate us to greater exertions. Scarcely a communion passed by without receiving some one into our church. Our asylum was prosperous; our village was assuming a more decided and complete Christian tone. . . . Our schools were exerting a power we had never before been privileged to see; our church had just been built and dedicated to God. . . . We had built the foundation and looked forward to the noble superstructure which we hoped to see raised. Anticipating an abundant harvest our hearts glowed with love at the bright prospect.¹

The year 1857 opened auspiciously and no one of the busy and hopeful mission band dreamed how darkly it would close. The schools were very prosperous, the press was doing a noble work, translation work was being vigorously prosecuted and during the season of 1856-57 the brethren privileged to make tours in the district found unusual encouragement in their work. Books were eagerly sought and there seemed unwonted interest in the Gospel message. But,——²

Here a different story begins.

In four out of the five stations educational work formed a major part of the program. The East India Railway had not yet shortened the last lap, Calcutta to Allahabad, of the long journey from America, but work on railway construction had already begun. Up to this time single ladies had found no permanent place of service in the ranks of our

Mission. It is outside the scope of this history to dwell on the Mutiny itself or to give a detailed account of the suffering and bravery of those who laid down their lives. This sorrowful tale and these brave deeds have been adequately depicted by J. J. Lucas, E. M. Wherry and others. The editor of the *Indian Witness* speaks in favor of the removal of the ruins of the old Residency in Lucknow; by the same token we believe that the events of that fateful year should not be unduly elaborated.

If one reads the letters written by our missionaries early in 1857 he can feel a cumulative tension in the atmosphere which in a way prepares him for the impending sinister happenings of that hot month of June. For instance, in May, Mr. Fullerton wrote of the unpleasant news emanating from Meerut and Amballa, two stations to the North-West. Presently he was writing of troops marching on Delhi. Mr. McMullin of Farrukhabad wrote of the "danger now so imminent," and J. F. Ullman wrote from Agra that he and his family "had fled for their lives," from Mainpuri. On 16 May Mrs. Campbell wrote: "Last night was to us and to many others, a sleepless, anxious night." On 18 May she wrote of "two days and nights of fearful suspense." Again, her letter of the twenty-eighth reads,

We and the Johnsons have moved from Barhpur to Rakha and expect to remain here until we hear the result of the battle of Delhi. We are with the Freemans and the Johnsons are staying with the McMullins. It seems quite natural to be on this compound again. . . . There are no European troops here but the native regiment is thought to be quite staunch. They were in Burmah a year or two ago, and they say that, having been on shipboard, their brethren of other regiments think them half Christian, and that for this reason the Mutineers will not be so likely to visit this station. Should they remain loyal we have little to fear. 2 June: The principal families stayed in their boats last night. . . . We are trying to get boats but the heat in them will be fearful.³

On Monday, 1 June, Mrs. Johnson wrote:

It is Monday morning and a brighter sky dawns on us in this land, though all danger is not yet past. Next day she penned: My dear sister, this is perhaps my last letter.³

Mrs. McMullin's letters ran thus:

On Sunday morning, 11 May, we all came and had service with the Christians. They were not so frightened as we were. . . . They showed much feeling for us, but said that our leaving them was no desertion. . . . Dear Mother, my faith in God's goodness has never failed me. Saturday, 23 May: The fort here is a poor thing, built of mud. We have given up our plan of flight to the fort and mean to escape with the Indian women. Mrs. Freeman from the first never wanted to go to the station (fort). It was her plan for us to escape through the Christian village by wearing Chadars. . . . God is our hope who will never forsake us in our need. Sunday, 31 May: We have had our usual services today. . . . Do write to me often.³

The curtain is drawn before the final scenes in the lives of the eight missionaries and two children of Fatehgarh whose attempted flight on the night of 3 June down the Ganges ended in their being made the victims of the raging Nana of Cawnpore. They were shot on the parade ground at Cawnpore, at 7 a.m., 13 June 1857.⁴ That they bravely gave their lives in the name of Christ, no Christian has the least doubt. That the payment of such a price was necessary and efficacious, many perhaps, will doubt. After being caught in such a death-trap, some at least must have regretted leaving their posts. The prayer of Jesus was indeed fulfilled that the flight "be not in winter"; but what winter could have exceeded the tortures of a June sun in Hindustan!

Rulers of the former bellicose age had provided a "shelter in the time of storm" for refugees in Agra and in Allahabad. Farrukhabad had never been favored with a strong fort. One is inclined to stop to ponder the fact that the European community of Farrukhabad was obliged to entrust its safety to running water, water which, as it happened, carried most of them to an ignominious death. The Mutiny quickly divided our people into two groups, the safe and the sacrificed. Agra, Allahabad and Mainpuri, safe—because of strong walls. Farrukhabad, sacrificed—because the cities of refuge were out of reach.

In Wallace's detailed history we read of those martyred in Cawnpore that,

The bodies were put into carts, taken to the nearest river-side and thrown into the Ganges near the Sati Chaura Ghat.

Even then the lifeless bodies were not spared a last indignity. Owing to the shallowness of the river they could not float away.⁵

Their names are recorded in sacred memory on a tablet in the Rakha Church, Fatehgarh.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

The Rev. John E. Freeman and Mrs. Elizabeth Freeman

The Rev. D. E. Campbell and Mrs. Maria J. Campbell
with their children Fanny and Willie

The Rev. A. O. Johnson and Mrs. Amanda Johnson
and

The Rev. Robt. McMullin and Mrs. Sarah C. McMullin,
missionaries of the Board of Foreign Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,
who were put to death at Cawnpore by the insurgents,
on the 12th or 13th of June, 1857

Also of Dhaukal Parshad,

Headmaster of the Missions High School

and his wife and four children, who were put to death

At Futtehgarh about the — of July, 1857

These names are also on the memorial monument over a well in the Memorial Churchyard, Fatehgarh. The names of the missionaries are also found in the long list in the Memorial Church in Cawnpore. A marble memorial tablet to John E. Freeman is on the wall of the Jumna Church, Allahabad.

Regarding the search for safety Secretary Lowrie wrote:

It seems a matter of regret that the Europeans of Fatehgarh should have left the station; nothing worse could have been before them there than they might have expected on the river . . . no one could blame them for seeking safety in flight.⁶

In the same letter he commented on the many in England and United States "who glibly state that missionary work was the cause of the Mutiny." Final and definite news of this tragedy did not reach America for months. Lowrie's letter of 18 September spoke of "the distressing apprehension that four missionaries have met a violent death." A week later: "We have almost given up hope of their being among the living." Replying to a letter of 6 November which he had received 25 January 1858, he wrote that, "the fact of their death seems to be clearly proved." On 28 September

Mr. Fullerton of Agra wrote that they had just heard the sad news that twenty-one of the Fatehgarh Christians had been killed.

In 1857, during the Mutiny, much property was destroyed and many houses were burned. The bungalow on the bank of the Jumna, which had for years been the pleasant mission home, was plundered and fired. The church could not be burned as it was built of strong masonry, but it was spoiled and defaced and the mutineers took from the belfry the sweet-toned bell which so often had called together the little congregation and carried it off to a heathen temple. When the mutineers heard that the English were coming to rescue their countrymen they were greatly alarmed for they expected punishment.

They could not restore the lives they had taken, but in some cases they returned the property they had stolen; and in this way the bell was restored and now from its former place rings out a welcome to the house of prayer. In answer to its summons from out of their homes the worshippers come trooping—fathers, mothers and children.⁷

In Agra and Farrukhabad nothing but damaged walls were left to tell the grim tale of wanton destruction. Much damage was also done in the Mainpuri compound. Fatehpur and Allahabad were spared complete destruction. Mr. Scott wrote thus of Fatehgarh:

Fatehgarh is a total ruin. The whole station may be compared to an immense graveyard, the monuments of which are crumbling mud walls. It is, so far as everything European is concerned, as perfect a scene of desolation as I have ever looked upon.⁸

J. J. Lucas has preserved for us the Message of the Mutiny as expressed by Robert Fullerton in October 1860. He stated that the Mutiny, like many other evils, "was one not unattended by good results." But Mr. Fullerton did not discuss the political matters involved; rather he confined his writing to one point, namely, the changed attitude of Europeans toward Indian Christians. He told how difficult it was to get admission into the Agra Fort, of three hundred Christians. Once admitted, "they conducted themselves as to secure the respect of their European fellow-Christians." Apparently it was expected by many that most Indian Christians would renounce their Faith in the "hour of trial." But instead, "we returned to find that they had, almost

without exception, been faithful, some of them even unto death."⁹

E. M. Wherry expressed this idea in these words: "The way was now open to them (Indian Christians) to receive the emoluments of government service, which at once gave them employment and added respectability to them and their families."¹⁰ John C. Lowrie believed that "the altered opinion of Europeans towards native Christians will do much to relieve the Mission of what was a great embarrassment."

J. J. Walsh whose life was spared by his being in America in 1857, and who was immediately requested by the Board to prepare a memoir in honor of his martyred colleagues, devoted many pages to the causes and lessons of the Mutiny. Among the causes he gave he elaborated two: the pride, bigotry, and fanaticism of Islam, "in its last burst of despair"; secondly, the "power of a sinking Brahmanism." "Both these parties hated the British for the introduction of what they considered Christianity, not in its religious sense, so much as in its elevating power."¹¹ Among the effects or lessons of the Mutiny he placed first God's infliction of suffering upon His people in order that they might be brought to a fuller dedication of their lives to Christ. Secondly, Walsh believed that God had spoken unmistakably to the British Government to stop its patronizing practices in choosing Indian officials, to deal more strongly with superstitious practices and to bring about reforms in such matters as the cultivation of opium. Thirdly, he saw in the Mutiny the end of the Hindu caste system. Fourthly, the moral power and respectability of Christianity would be established in the minds of non-Christians in India. Fifthly, the Christian world would come to see the real nature of non-Christian religions, and consequently the need for the spread of the Gospel. "Let none imagine that God intends us to withdraw our efforts to benefit the people of India. We have now a special call to prosecute our labors there, for the seed of martyrdom has been sown."¹²

Fullerton wrote: "The opposition which once met us at every point has disappeared. The people now say that there is no use in resisting the spread of Christianity any longer. They are as sure as we are that sooner or later the

whole country must become Christian.”¹³ From a missionary in the Punjab we have the following:

A great change too had come over the mind of the Indian public in regard to mission work. These officers who had not only disliked missionaries and their work, believing that they were raising obstacles to the government of the people, were now silent. The fact was now clearly proved that the rebellion had been begun among those who had been most carefully guarded against the influence of missionaries and native Christians. It was now generally believed that the Mutiny was a divine judgment on a godless government (East India Co.) for their disloyalty to Christ.¹⁴

Secretary Lowrie considered it “a call to deeper humiliation and prayer for a holier zeal in the missionary cause.” These reflections are given here not because they are generally accepted but because they are a part of the record of that time. One would like to know how far Mr. Fullerton for instance shared Mr. Walsh’s opinion. We shall never know but it is believed that the above quotations fairly well reflect the opinion of the day. We of a later time, with a better perspective and with our knowledge of subsequent history, would probably express the matter differently. The early missionaries, knowingly or unknowingly, ran great risk by coming to India in such turbulent times. If we of a later day need the “moral equivalent” of a Mutiny to make us “thoroughly furnished for every good work,” it can be had for the asking from the Giver of every good and perfect gift.

James Moffat’s life of Joseph Owen contains a valuable document in the form of quotations from Owen’s diary recorded during the days of the Mutiny while he endured anxious days and lonely privation in the Allahabad Fort. Mr. Owen was the first missionary to make the rounds of all the mission stations, once it was safe to travel, after the Mutiny.¹⁵

The ten American missionary families had been reduced to six. Early in 1858 a conference was held in Agra, when it was decided that the Scotts and Fullertons should be transferred to Farrukhabad, the former to Rakha and the latter to Barhpur. They arrived at the end of March. Scott reported that everything was in “complete destruction, not a piece

of wood now remains on our premises." Mr. Williams wrote of this decision:

The urgent wants of Fatehgarh, the number of native Christians there, their destitute condition both temporal and spiritual and the importance of the station in every view, seemed to render unavoidable our action in removing Messrs. Scott and Fullerton thither.¹⁶

Mr. Fullerton repaired the house in which the Campbells had lived. In June 1859, Mrs. Fullerton's letter ran thus: "We are very glad to live again in a house after so many months of tent life. . . . Everything is very much increased in price. We think it rather hard that Lord Canning should lay such a heavy tax, on some articles twenty per cent, upon us after all our losses. The English people are complaining loudly against it." From Mr. Fullerton's letter we learn that necessities were costing double and treble what they cost before the Mutiny. The second bungalow in Barhpur was ready for the Ullmans early in 1861.

The second bungalow in Rakha was never rebuilt. The Rakha Church was restored and rededicated. It was at first suggested that our work in Fatehgarh and Farrukhabad be reopened on a new site. On this point Mr. Lowrie wrote that the "tender and sacred memories connected with Rakha and Barhpur make it best to stay there." The American Church at once promised to send new recruits and to raise thirty thousand dollars for reconstruction purposes. Expressing his willingness that school should "still be an important part of missionary work," Lowrie suggested that preaching had too often been "crowded into narrow limits."

Joseph Owen returned to his station in Allahabad early in 1858. With the appointment of the Brodheads to Mainpuri in the fall of 1859 the work of the desolated stations was once more provided for. Gopi Nath again took up his duties in Fatehpur. Agra as already mentioned was not rebuilt. When the Walshs returned in July 1859 they were stationed in Allahabad. Among the recruits was W. F. Johnson, a brother of the martyred missionary.¹⁷

A Board letter of October 1860 reveals the fact that Government had agreed to pay to the Board Rs. 72,666 (25,000 dollars) "on account of losses in the Mutiny." This

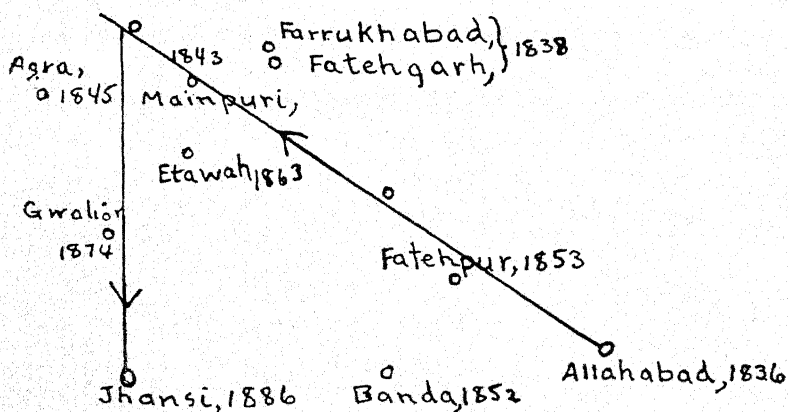
sum was calculated to be about one-third the actual monetary loss. In October 1869 the above figure is again quoted and with it we find the statement that the special gifts for both our India Missions from the home Church for rebuilding amounted to only eighteen thousand one hundred and twelve dollars. At that date the Board had not yet given permission to spend this Government compensation money, nor had it been transferred to other work. Evidently the money was used for rebuilding in Fatehgarh and Mainpuri, for opening work in Etawah and for meeting the cost of a house in Landour.

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CHAPTER VI

EXPANSION TOWARDS THE SOUTH



Etawah, 1862; Gwalior, 1874; Jhansi, 1886

DURING its first quarter of a century the Mission extended its work towards the North-west. In the second quarter century the expansion was towards the South. During the second half of the century the development has been internal and intensive rather than expansive. When the decision was made to close the work in Agra the Mission decided to open both Aligarh and Etawah. For some reason Aligarh was never opened.

Fortunately the session records of Etawah Church from the very beginning have been preserved. The first book covers the period from March 1863 till November 1871, and the minutes are written partly in English and partly in Roman Urdu. The second book begins with 1871 and contains the record up to 1934. The third book, now in use, took up the record where the second left off. In these books are found brief items dealing with practically every step in the development of our Christian work in that district and city. Etawah was a city of about thirty-five thousand people

when the East India Railway reached there in 1861. In November 1862 Rev. and Mrs. Julian F. Ullman were appointed to initiate mission work in Etawah and accordingly took up their residence there in a rented house early in 1863. In March of that year a church consisting of thirteen members was organized. In the same year the present large bungalow was purchased from Government for twenty-five hundred rupees. It was probably the house that the Ullmans rented when they went to Etawah. It had been built by Government soon after the Mutiny to house military officers who were stationed there to defend the country against invaders from across the Jumna, and, as such, was no longer needed by Government. This low price for the house must have been a great comfort to Secretary Lowrie, who that very year complained about the "costly house in Allahabad."

Three members were added to the church the first year. In December 1863 Mr. Ullman reported that he had three Indian helpers, and sent home a request for four thousand rupees to build a new church "on the compound near the road." In the same letter he spoke of plans for building a chapel in the city. When funds from America were not forthcoming for the new church, Mr. Ullman built one from funds raised in India. This church or chapel, situated on the eastern edge of the compound, was used for several years and was sold in 1875. In 1875 a small bungalow was built by Mr. Ullman as a residence for Miss Christine Belz. Land was purchased in the city and a church erected thereon about 1869.

In November 1866 the eighth annual meeting of the Mission was held in Etawah. Up to this time the number of church members had increased to twenty, by the addition of new converts. In 1868 there was mention of ten girls' schools in this new station. In March 1872 Nabi Bakhsh, a convert, was ordained and installed pastor of the Etawah Church. Mr. Ullman sent to an American religious magazine a narrative of his visit in 1874-75 to three out-stations—then called sub-stations—of Etawah, namely, Calpee, Oriya and Jhansi. He went by way of Agra as far as Gwalior by train and then by palanquin to Jhansi. He

returned via Cawnpore visiting the above mentioned places. Some of these places had been opened by missionary Ullman in 1873. He also mentioned Kunch in Jalaun District.¹

For thirty years, 1872 till 1902, Miss Christine Belz of Germany ministered to women and children in Etawah City and nearby villages. Hers was the longest period of continuous service in one station in our Mission up till that time and was also one of great acceptance by those to whom she ministered. Her life and work were also much appreciated by the home church. She wrote lengthy letters and reports, many of which were published in the home papers.² The following sentence is taken from the Mission minutes of 1903: "In a manner peculiar to herself she daily went forth to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation to the people of Etawah."³

For years Etawah was known as a health resort for missionaries. On several occasions the Mission held its annual meeting there.

The work grew gradually. The response of the village people was at times more hopeful in one section and then in another. The Ullmans were followed by the Sayers who were succeeded again by the Ullmans. In 1881 the Tracys succeeded the Ullmans and carried on until their furlough about 1890. The Woodsides were there for a term beginning in 1888. This quotation from the report of 1890 indicates what work was going on:

The boys' school, under Mr. Tracy's care, has continued in operation and the pupils have been, as before, thoroughly instructed in Gospel truth. The Sunday school in connection with this school has been well attended. An interesting service for beggars has been held just outside the church premises at the close of the Sunday service. Large numbers, attracted by the alms given, come and hear and thus is the Gospel preached to the poor. . . . In the village of Mainpuri a woman said to me (Miss Belz), "I have seen you at the mela at Sonai and other women have told me about you." She begged me to come to her house.⁴

In 1892 the missionaries were the Woodsides and Miss Belz. Param Sukh, Durga Prasad and Kesri Prasad were preachers. In addition to these there were two colporteurs

and four Bible-women. A paragraph from the report of that year gives a different phase of the work:

The work during the year under review has been conducted on the same lines as in former years. The Gospel has been regularly preached in towns and villages. Many people have been visited at their homes and met with at places of public resort and on such occasions good opportunities were found for preaching the Word. Special efforts were put forth during the season at opium weighments when large numbers of villagers heard the Word with apparent gladness. Two important melas, the Batesar and the Dhobe (Doba) were attended by Param Sukh and Kesri Prasad and both these gentlemen accompanied me during my (Woodside) itinerations in January and February, when a large circle of villages in the neighborhood of Karhal and Jaswantnagar were visited.⁵

Thus God's work continued through the years. When the famine of 1899 swept over Central India Mr. and Mrs. Albert G. McGaw were working in Etawah. With little money and lots of faith they decided to open quarters for the salvation of starving boys of Rajputana. They first took twenty boys but within a year they were caring for over ninety. They were cared for in temporary buildings which were later removed. Many of these boys became Christians, and several of them developed into Christian workers. When the McGaws were transferred to Etah in 1901 the remnant of the orphan boys was sent to other boarding schools.⁶

Buddha Mal, a man of means of Etawah City, was baptized by Mr. Woodside. In 1906 Buddha Mal gave money to the Mission for the purpose of building a library and reading-room on Mission land in the city. It was the understanding that Buddha Mal himself would be the manager of this library. Unfortunately the library was not built until 1927, several years after Buddha Mal's death. The Sunday services, which for years were held on the verandah of the larger bungalow, are now held in this library.

In 1910 proceedings were begun which resulted in 1917 in the exchange of the city church building and the major part of that property for about sixteen acres of open land lying between the city and the railway station. This new possession was never utilized for mission or church purposes.

The most of it was sold in 1934. At present the Mission owns property in the city, on which are located eight or ten shops. Over three of these is the library, opened in May 1927 and serving a large number of the literate city people. Plans for erecting a preaching hall on the adjacent lot have never been carried out. On the edge of the city in the direction of the Mission is an acre of land on which are located two houses which are sometimes rented and sometimes occupied by workers. The original compound of about twelve acres has two bungalows as well as several small buildings.⁷

A great many missionaries have been privileged to work in Etawah. Rev. Edwin R. Fitch of Ceylon, formerly a teacher in Allahabad, was superintendent of Etawah station from 1908 until 1923. Before Mr. Fitch's time many hundreds of sweepers had been baptized in the three townships under our supervision. In addition to his faithful shepherding of these lowly Christians, Mr. Fitch opened up work among the Chamars in the western end of the field. During the years 1918-21 about six hundred Chamars were baptized, only a small number of whom became communicant members of the church. In 1920 three co-operative societies (banks) were established in that part of the district—one for the community of sweeper converts and two for the new converts among the Chamars. These societies did not prove to be a success and in 1924-25 had to be liquidated. Because of disillusionment on the part of some baptized Chamars, and because of opposition from the sweepers—both baptized and others—the work in Etawah has been difficult to maintain.

The lack of local schools and places of worship, the paucity of village preachers and teachers and, in recent years, the frequent change of missionaries have combined to hinder satisfactory spiritual progress in Etawah. Those who today are standing fast in their new faith form a more hopeful nucleus than did the larger groups of former years. At present writing of the City library and evangelistic work are in charge of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Dyke, while Mr. and Mrs. R. Caldwell Smith supervise the district, Mr. Smith acting as moderator of the central church session.

GWALIOR

A scouting committee of the Mission which visited Gwalior in 1867 brought back a recommendation unfavorable to the initiation of work there. But by 1873 the time was considered ripe, so our Mission advanced another step towards the south by establishing work in the hill country of Gwalior. Though since 1805 Gwalior had been considered the capital of the native state, the British had been occupying it since the battle of Maharajpur in 1843.⁸

Joseph Warren, printer in Allahabad and missionary in Agra from 1839 till 1854, returned to India in 1872 after his long residence at home. It would seem that Warren's service as chaplain during the American Civil War had fitted him for service in a station which was at that time definitely military. At all events, he and the second Mrs. Warren, who had accompanied him to India in 1872, were appointed to open the work. Going as far as Agra by rail, the Warrens completed their journey to their new station by mail coach. Arriving there in January or February 1874, they took up their residence in a rented house in Morar, the British cantonment.

A few months after their arrival in Morar, the chaplain to the non-conformist troops was transferred and the spiritual ministration to the Presbyterian and other soldiers was assigned to Mr. Warren, who thus for the second time became a chaplain. This appointment not only gave him standing but also provided "pecuniary aid for his missionary work."

A thatched bungalow on the river side of the Mall Road, and near the English Church of Morar, was purchased by the Mission in 1875 or 1876. Under date of June 1875 Chaplain Warren wrote a narrative of a journey he and Mrs. Warren had taken with their colporteur to the town of Gohadd, twenty-six miles from Gwalior. They travelled on elephants loaned by the Maharajah and while in Gohadd were the guests of one Joseph, a Christian landlord. Mr. Warren thought that this place was promising as the beginning of a rural colony of Christians. Gohadd, the former capital of Dholpur State, is between Gwalior and Etawah and possessed a strong fort which is now mainly in ruins.

Within a year or two a church was organized in Morar. The records of this church and its subsequent growth were destroyed by fire in 1915, when the bungalow was burned down. Day schools for both boys and girls were opened in Morar, then a town of two or three thousand. During the winter of 1876-77 Dr. Warren became incapacitated for work. His earthly life came to an end in March 1877, almost thirty-nine years after his first arrival in India. His body was laid to rest in Padampur cemetery, one mile east of Morar.

Mrs. Warren continued to live in Morar and sought new and better ways of serving the women and children—both Christian and non-Christian. The report of 1879 recorded the fact that she had “secured from government a site for a church building.” Soon after this Mrs. Warren sent in a request for funds for a “modest chapel.” Mrs. Holcomb’s statement of 1886 is interesting:

After the death of Dr. Warren an eligible site for a church was donated by government, and with funds contributed by friends in America, England and India, Mrs. Warren is erecting a small but substantial house of worship. One of the most interesting features is the large Sabbath-School of Indian children which Mrs. Warren had succeeded in establishing.¹⁰

When in 1886 the British exchanged their holdings for the Jhansi Fort and when at the same time our Mission decided to begin work there, it was assumed by local authorities that Mrs. Warren would seek some other field of service. But having begun a good work she preferred to stick by it. The stone church which is today the house of worship was many years in building. At the time of Mrs. Warren’s death in September 1901 the building was not yet under roof. His late Highness, Madho Maharaj of Gwalior, because of deep admiration for this humble servant of Christ, gave fifteen hundred rupees towards the completion of the church. He also gave Mrs. Warren’s mortal remains a burial with military honors and later had an appropriate tombstone placed over her grave. In 1896 His Highness had befriended Mrs. Warren by donating seven hundred rupees toward the expenses of a well in the Mission compound. The following letter is a part of the record:

JAI BILAS PALACE,
Gwalior,
14 Dec. 1901.

DEAR SIR,

I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated ninth instant with enclosure, and to request you to kindly convey His Highness' thanks to the members of the Farrukhabad Mission for their very kind expression of gratitude. I may add that the death of Mrs. Warren was a great loss to the Gwalior people, and was equally felt by the general public of every age.

A. R. S., Private Secretary to
H.H. Maharajah Scindia.¹¹

But even with the Maharajah's generous gift the church was still unfinished. In 1904 another grant from the Mission was necessary to provide doors, windows and a floor.

The second family stayed but little longer than the first. In 1903, with the purpose of opening medical work in Gwalior, the Mission posted Dr. and Mrs. John S. Symington there. But with Dr. Symington's resignation in 1906 this scheme fell through and was never revived. In 1909 the Mission urged "the home church to make possible the re-opening of the work in Gwalior by so reinforcing our numbers as to enable us to set apart one of our members for this station and by providing the funds needed to build a mission house at a strategic point."¹² Even back in 1903 steps had been taken "towards securing suitable property for mission purposes in Gwalior."¹³ In 1911 the New York Board officially recognized Gwalior as a Mission station. Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Weld were missionaries in residence when the house was burned in 1915.

At last Gwalior's chance of development came. Soon after the fire the Morar site was exchanged for a field near the railway station. Henry Forman who had been Gwalior's chief champion for years and who had been from time to time supervising the work from Jhansi, in 1915 was authorized to buy a site and erect a preaching chapel in Lashkar, the Capital, two miles west of the new site. The next year the Formans were stationed there and in 1917 began the erection of the first bungalow in the new compound. In 1921-22 the second house was built, funds for which were

given by the Woman's Board of America. Henry Forman carried on preaching and reading-room work in rented quarters in both Morar and Lashkar up till 1921 or 1922. The Formans spent their last three years in India, 1921-24 in charge of the Sardars' School (now the Scindia School), the leading boys' school of the state. They resided in a bungalow on the Fort, quite near the school.

In 1921 money was available for the above mentioned chapel in Lashkar, but for some reason or other it was never built. The Mission owns no property in that city of eighty-five thousand people.

During the Great World War the Maharajah, ruler of Gwalior, bent all his energies in support of the Allied cause. To that end he called Dr. Sam Higginbottom of Allahabad to establish a state experimental farm and gave him full authority to develop modern methods of agriculture. Dr. Higginbottom was in part-time state service for three years, 1916-19, and was in residence from time to time during that period. He was ably assisted by three American colleagues, Griffin, Kenoyer and Pendleton. Higginbottom built the present buildings of the state farm, established a dairy and carried on demonstrations in twelve village centers. At the expiration of his three year term, Mr. Pendleton was made director of agriculture for the ensuing three years. Subsequently all of these gentlemen terminated their services with the Maharajah.¹⁴

Women's work during the twentieth century has been almost entirely in the hands of Miss Edith H. May and Miss Agnes G. Hill. From 1912 until her retirement—with one break of eight years—in September 1935, Miss May lived in a rented house in Morar, and with the help of her two Indian sisters, Mrs. E. F. Sturgis and Miss Naomi Andrews, carried on very efficient zenana work and Sunday school teaching among the women and children of Morar, and also in the old city of Gwalior at the north end of the Fort. As in 1901 so in 1935, this important work had to be closed, due to the lack of funds and workers.

Miss Agnes G. Hill came to Gwalior in 1913 and for some years did in Lashkar a work similar to that of Miss May. In 1921 she opened a school for girls in the city.

This school, later raised to a high school, has been held in several places in the city, always in rented quarters. From 1924 till 1929 Miss Emily Sharman very acceptably managed the school during Miss Hill's enforced absence. Miss Hill lives with her teachers in the bungalow erected in 1922. During her absence on furlough (1934-35), Miss Susan Meshacks, B.A., the head-mistress, was in charge of the school. Now that the state has opened its own high school for girls, not to mention co-education in the boys' high school, the Mission school is likely to be reduced to a middle school.

The Morar Church was organized a second time in November 1933, with four elders and twenty-six members. As yet no pastor has been called. Christianity has not yet taken hold in Gwalior villages. The Morar congregation numbers about one hundred, most of whom have come to Gwalior from the outside. Mr. and Mrs. Walter L. Allison were in Gwalior from October 1928 till March 1938. Their work was educational and village evangelization, reaching points seventy-five miles away.

JHANSI 1886

Mrs. Holcomb's facile pen has given such a pleasing and romantic touch to the story of the early days of Mission work in Jhansi that one is tempted to reproduce her account *in toto*. Very early in our Mission history the pioneers made an advance towards Jhansi when they followed one of the Vindhaya streams as far as Banda, which became an out-station of Allahabad for two or three years. With the setting of our stakes in Jhansi, in 1886, the extent of our Mission-Church area was practically fixed. Pushing on to Jhansi was quite in keeping with the spirit of the times—the early days of railroads—a period of growth and rapid development, which has not yet been paralleled by the use of modern vehicles such as motor cars and aeroplanes.

Advance farther toward the south and occupation of Bundelkhand depended somewhat on political events. In 1886 the British gave up their hold in Gwalior and in exchange took possession of Jhansi. With the prospect of peace and protection and with the signs of the times pointing

to Jhansi's development as a railway center, the Mission decided that the time had come for the permanent establishment of Christian work there. A paragraph from Wherry's history is here quoted.

The question of establishing a mission at Jhansi had often been considered. J. F. Ullman, while at Etawah, had sent his entire force to preach in Bundelkhand. They occupied as centers of touring circuits four towns: Jhansi, Kalpi, Orai and Kunch. For three years these workers labored under the leadership of Rev. Nabi Bakhsh, a convert from Islam. Two hundred and sixteen towns and villages were visited and great numbers of Gospel portions and Christian books were scattered among the people. Among those who were brought into the Christian Church was a Brahman priest, Devidas, who received at baptism the name of Prabhu Das, and who became a distinguished evangelist.¹⁵

J. F. Ullman in his 1873 report on Jhansi stated that Isai Das, one of Gopi Nath Nundy's converts from Fatehpur, had established an independent work in Jhansi and had received a donation of one hundred rupees from Sir William Muir.¹⁶ Isai Das must have been the same person whom Dr. Wherry mentions under the name of Prabhu Das.

Rev. and Mrs. James F. Holcomb, who had come to our field from the Ludhiana Mission in 1872, were transferred from Allahabad to Jhansi early in 1886. The following account of the early days in our Jhansi work is condensed from Mrs. Holcomb's *In the Heart of India*.¹⁷

Jhansi had been an out-station of Etawah since 1873. The Mission committee of investigation visited Jhansi in January 1886 and recommended that it be opened at once without awaiting permission from the Board. We were anxious to be sent to this new station. Our journey from Allahabad was by way of Agra, by rail as far as Gwalior. From Gwalior to Jhansi we travelled by stage-coach. We found no Christian work and influence in Jhansi, which was seldom visited by foreigners. But we did find that two European doctors had publicly preached Christ and had sought the spiritual good of all with whom they came in contact. There was of course no English Church there. We rented a house which was being occupied by an English

judge. A month later we left Jhansi for translation work, travelling one hundred miles towards Cawnpore by stage-coach, and then covered the remaining fifty miles to Cawnpore on the construction train which was in use building the new railway line between these two places.

Within a few months more than a score of homes were opened for zenana work. Bible-women and other helpers were engaged. In December 1886 and January 1887 we made our first tour, visiting Orchha, Barwa Sagar, Ranipur and Mau. In June 1887 Nabi Bakhsh and family arrived, along with other preachers. Houses for these people were rented in the city. Our first regular Sunday services were begun in Nabi Bakhsh's house. The second season we toured in Datia State to the north.

On 1 February 1888, the Jhansi-Cawnpore section of the Indian Midland Railway was opened and proved a great aid to our work. Mr. Holcomb bought the first tickets sold in Jhansi station, we rode on the first passenger train to leave Jhansi and our first trip was to go forth to preach the Gospel. The population of Jhansi increased from thirty-two thousand in 1886 to fifty-two thousand in 1891. At first there was no grant from the Board and our work depended on personal gifts from India, Australia and America.

The ladies of the Philadelphia Society provided the money to purchase the house in which we were living. A year or two later the Board refunded the money to the society. I was busy with zenana work and school work while Mr. Holcomb busied himself preaching, supervising and acting as Presbyterian chaplain. In 1888 we bought the site for the city church at auction, for one hundred and ninety rupees. Our whole compound with buildings cost about three thousand dollars.

In 1889 the railway line between Jhansi and Gwalior was opened, thus making a through line from Bombay to the north-west. In November 1889 the Mission held its annual meeting in our new station. The crowning event of this first Mission meeting in Jhansi was the laying of the corner-stone of the city church. When this event took place on 21 November, the foundation walls were a little above the ground. Friends unsolicited presented us with a

generous gift to help in the erection of this house of prayer. By 1891 the final stone was placed in the church steeple, making it, after the old Fort, the most conspicuous landmark in the community. In March 1890 Dharam Das was ordained elder.

Mr. and Mrs. Hervey D. Griswold came to Jhansi in 1890. The first box of books from the city reading-room came from Melbourne. The new reading-room, equipped with one thousand volumes, was opened at the end of 1891. The church, completed and equipped with an American bell, was dedicated on 27 February 1902. J. F. Ullman wrote a hymn of dedication. Lord Radstock spoke at the dedication services. The old Fort at Ranipur was bought from Government for fifty rupees and the house there was built by Mr. Holcomb in 1901.

The gifted Holcombs were especially well suited to begin this important work in Jhansi. Supported by friends far and near, they made a success of whatever their hands found to do.¹⁸ In all the annals of the century there is perhaps no other instance of such signal success, both spiritual and material, as marked the Holcombs' twenty years of witness in the heart of India. Here we drop the story of Jhansi for the time being. The frontiers of the North India Mission have now been established. The stakes were set and the cords were henceforth not to be lengthened. What would the subsequent years reveal regarding the strengthening of the stakes of the Church in Etawah and among the hills of Gwalior and Jhansi?

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- ¹ *The Foreign Missionary*, June, 1875.
- ² *Ibid.*, several volumes.
- ³ *Mission Minutes*, 1903, p. 17.
- ⁴ *Report of Farrukhabad Mission*, 1890, pp. 48-49.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 1892, p. 45.
- ⁶ *His Little Ones*, 1901, E. H. and A. G. McGAW.
See also annual minutes and reports.
- ⁷ See Mission records.
- ⁸ See *Gwalior Gazetteer*, 1908.
- ⁹ See *Foreign Missionary* and Board reports.
- ¹⁰ *History of A. P. Missions*, 1886, p. 144.
- ¹¹ *In the Heart of India*, H. H. HOLCOMB.
- ¹² *Mission Minutes*, 1909, p. 17.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 9.
- ¹⁴ See Gwalior State records.
- ¹⁵ *Our Missions in India*, 1926, p. 215.
- ¹⁶ *Deputation Report*, 1873, KELLOGG and ULLMAN, 4,000 words, unpublished.
- ¹⁷ About 1912, H. H. HOLCOMB.
- ¹⁸ See *North India Mission records*.

CHAPTER VII

GROWTH IN ALLAHABAD DURING THE MIDDLE PERIOD

A PERSPECTIVE of this long period may be had by looking at a chronological list of the most important events of the period:

- 1841. Jumna Boys' School opened under Joseph Owen.
- 1846. High School and Collegiate work and equipment taken over from the East India Company.
- 1847. 1 January, Dedication of Jumna Church.
- 1857. Work interrupted because of the Mutiny.
- 1860. The Press sold to J. J. Caleb and others.
- 1864. Marion Walsh, the first single lady missionary to be stationed in Allahabad.
- 1865. Opening of the East India Railway as far as Allahabad.
- 1868. First number of the *Makhzan-I-Masih*, edited by J. J. Walsh.
- 1872. First Indian pastor, Rev. J. J. Caleb, in charge of Katra Church. Theological School opened at Jumna under the supervision of S. H. Kellogg. All-India Missionary Conference held after Christmas.
- 1873. Opening of Medical Work by Miss Sara Seward, M.D.
- 1875. The Flood and its disastrous results.
- 1886. Opening of the Jumna Girls' School (Wanamaker).
- 1887. Dedication of the present Chauk Church.
- 1891. Purchase of three acres, addition to Katra Compound.
- 1900. Erection of Katra Church.

The above items with the exception of two will be discussed in this chapter. The Wanamaker School will be presented in the chapter on educational development while Dr. Seward's work will form a part of the chapter on medical work. The other events will be taken up in chronological order.

Mention of the early days of the Jumna boys' school has been made in chapter one. After the Mutiny the school

reopened with about two hundred pupils. The school remained in the old building erected by the East India Company, and was under the management of Francis Heyl, J. J. Lucas, Henry Forman, W. F. Johnson and others. In 1884 there was temporary alarm because of proposed legislation derogatory to daily Bible instruction. In 1893 the Board refused permission to open the eleventh and twelfth classes.

Mrs. Holcomb stated the situation in Allahabad in 1863, thus:

In April 1863, Mr. Walsh proceeded to America on account of ill-health. During his absence the charge of the blind and leper asylum devolved upon Mrs. Walsh, as Mr. Owen did not arrive from Agra until after the departure of Mr. Walsh, and Mrs. Walsh was thus for a time the only missionary of our society in Allahabad.

The present Jumna Church was dedicated on New Year's Day, 1847. During most of this middle period the pastoral duties were performed by missionaries. In 1890 Rev. Isaac Fieldbrave (Indian) of Allahabad refused a call to the pastorate of Jumna. Three memorial tablets on the walls of this historic building bear inscriptions recording the periods of service of Joseph Owen, an outstanding missionary of his day; John E. Freeman who built the church and whose martyrdom has already been recorded, and Arthur H. Ewing who for several years prior to 1912 was both pastor of the church and superintendent of the Sunday school. Dr. J. J. Lucas gave several years of joyous and acceptable service in and through this church.

Joseph Warren made a name for himself by establishing the press in Katra, Allahabad. Upon his transfer to Agra in 1851 the management of the press was assigned to L. G. Hay who carried on the good work until its woeful interruption and semi-destruction in 1857. In 1860 the press was sold to J. J. Caleb and John Jordan. A few years later Jordan sold out his share to Caleb who carried on this flourishing business for many years and passed it on to his son. In addition to managing the printing business, J. J. Caleb was an ordained minister who acted as pastor of the Katra Church from 1872 till 1894.

Mr. Warren's first helper was John Hari, whose family

had become Christian through the teaching of Henry Martyn. John Hari developed into a good printer, a useful translator and an effective preacher.

James R. Campbell in the report of his pre-Mutiny visit to Allahabad did not neglect to mention the good work being done by the wives of the missionaries.² This worthy work was strengthened when Miss Marion Walsh, the first of the three Walsh daughters to accept appointment to India, was assigned to work in Allahabad. Zenana work had already been opened in many homes. Difficulty in establishing work for single ladies was implied in Secretary Irving's letter of 1874, when he asked whether the three single lady missionaries then located in Allahabad were all needed in that city. Deaths, marriages and transfers interfered with the continuity of zenana work in Allahabad. In 1879 Mary E. Wilson reported fifty girls in her schools and at least fifty women reading in her zenana classes.

Dr. Joseph Owen, translator, preacher and missionary statesman, carried on alone during the season of 1863-64. He died in Scotland in 1869 soon after leaving India.

Mr. Owen's Christian charity, his cordial courtesy and sound judgment secured for him the highest respect and confidence of British residents in both the civil and military service. His long residence at Allahabad, with the interest which he took in public affairs, rendered him a valuable advisor to the government. His discrimination of character, though softened by Christian charity, was quick and clear. His opinions were highly esteemed by men of all the Christian denominations.

This tribute is found in James Moffat's *The Story of a Dedicated Life*.

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

✓ In 1867 Secretary Irving had raised the question of the need for a theological class. In 1871 at Rakha, Fatehgarh, W. F. Johnson had a theological class of seven men. J. F. Ullman had taught sixteen in the same station. In this same year the Synod of India, at its meeting in Allahabad, ✓ proposed that a theological school for men students be opened in that city. The time had come when theological education required a more dignified and formal expression.

This new school was opened on the Jumna compound in April 1872, when twenty-seven students began, or continued, their theological training. The teaching duties were assigned to Messrs. S. H. Kellogg, Augustus Brodhead and T. H. Wynkoop.

After an address, Dr. Brodhead, the acting principal, formally declared the school to be open. T. S. Wynkoop was chosen secretary and librarian. The subjects prescribed by the Synod were Biblical Geography, Biblical History, Jewish Antiquities, Systematic Theology, Ecclesiastical Order, Christian Economics, and the Evangelistic and Pastoral work of the Church. The instructors were expected to give short periods of two or three months each on special subjects. J. H. Morrison of the Lodhiana Mission lectured on Muhammedanism. Rev. Kali Charan Chatterji lectured on the evidences of Christianity. J. J. Caleb gave lectures on the confession of faith. Hindi and Urdu were also taught. During the first year Samuel H. Kellogg, upon his return from America, became principal of the seminary.³

On land just opposite the present Jumna Church, purchased by the Mission in 1840, thirteen houses were built to be used as quarters for the theological students. The second year there were only sixteen students, three of whom were new. The course was a flexible one, being one, two or three years, according to the needs and ability of the students. The time of opening was changed from April till September. J. J. Caleb was made a member of the staff. In the third year there were only thirteen students. Owing to the paucity of students the institution did not open for its fourth year, nor indeed ever. Dr. Wherry in his mission history deplored the fact of its premature closing but he felt that its short existence had "accentuated the need of a thoroughly equipped Indian ministry and the possibility of an educated pastorate had been demonstrated."⁴ Theological training in our area was either in abeyance or dependent on the old methods until 1884, when the present theological college was opened in Saharanpur.

ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE

After Christmas 1872, an all-India missionary conference was held in Allahabad. In this seven days' meeting were assembled one hundred and eighteen missionaries

representing nineteen societies. Twenty-one ordained Indian leaders were also present. The published report contained papers on forty-two missionary and related subjects.⁵ This conference was an inspiration to those present as well as an impetus to the Christian cause all over India. It proved to be a harbinger of many such gatherings and paved the way for the national organizations which later came into being.

Mrs. Holcomb gave a vivid picture of the flood of 1875:

The summer of 1875 is memorable in Allahabad for a fall of rain almost unprecedented. In one day seventeen inches of rain fell, of which fifteen inches fell in thirteen hours. As a result the Ganges burst its banks beyond the Fort and soon covered an area of several square miles with deep water. A few hours later the Jumna broke its embankment just below the mission bungalow and flowed through the city five feet deep. The compound was flooded and nearly all the mud houses of Indian Christians as well as those for the theological students were swept away. Messrs. Brodhead and Heyl spent one anxious night in the mission bungalow. Happily no lives were lost. Many of the Christians found shelter in the high school building. Many villages across the Jumna were swept away.⁶

Dr. Seward and Miss Wilson fled from their "railway" bungalow because of rising tides. In December of that year, the Mission, at its annual meeting held in Allahabad, adopted a five-year plan of monetary aid to the stricken families among the local Christians. Many of these families moved into the city and as a result of this migration Allahabad Presbytery was requested to take steps toward the formation of a church while the Board in America was asked to give one thousand dollars for building a new church for them. These two things apparently never materialized, although the plan of aid was put into effect. The flood also swept away one of the vernacular schools.

The assignments of work for missionaries in Allahabad for 1875-76 were as follows: T. S. Wynkoop, city church and bazar preaching; S. H. Kellogg, catechist teacher and bazar preaching; J. F. Holcomb, Katra school and Fatehpur District; W. F. Johnson, editor of the *Makhzan-i-Masihi* and preaching; Francis Heyl, Jumna high school and in charge of property. About this time a letter from New York contained the query as to whether five men were needed in Allahabad.

Apparently there was not work for five after the theological school was closed. The above assignments contained no mention of women's work which was going on at that time.

CHAPELS

Two of the four chapels that Joseph Warren had helped to build during the early days in Allahabad had to be removed because of the needs of Government. One of these was the Chauk Church, erected in 1840. J. J. Lucas thought that it might have been destroyed during the Mutiny. For years evening preaching was carried on in the center of Allahabad, under a big Nim tree, not far from the site of the first chapel and also quite near the present Chauk Church. Preaching in those days was as much as one's life was worth. Organized opposition and mob violence seemed to be the order of the day. In 1885 prayer was begun for the securing of the best site in the city for the erection of a church. Within a few months a site was in view. Messrs. Alexander, J. C. R. Ewing, Holcomb and Lucas were active promoters of this object. When J. J. Lucas had gotten the price reduced from nineteen to fifteen thousand rupees, he asked for and was granted permission to buy the property. He wrote of the transaction as one of the high spots in his life and always remembered "the anxiety of that moment when the fourteen thousand rupees went out of my hands and in return I got the transfer deed, signed." The above sum, as well as another ten thousand rupees for the erection of the church, was a gift of the American Church.

This strong two-storied building has Biblical inscriptions in white marble on the front of it. A feature of its dedication in 1887 was a procession from the Jumna compound to the new church. Dr. Lucas told how, when the church was new, the careless ringing of the new American bell got them into trouble with Moslems who were worshipping in a nearby mosque. All bells seem to be "wild alarm bells" to a Moslem who is ever ready to leave his prayers and search for the offender.

This church was "dedicated to the Lord Jesus Christ," and has been used for this half-century as a vehicle of preaching the unsearchable riches of the Head of the Church. At

present this work is in the capable hands of E. P. Janvier and D. W. Tiwari, the pastor of Katra Church.

KATRA SCHOOL

The beginning of the Katra boys' middle school lies in obscurity. J. J. Lucas thought that a school was started on the compound of the Press, by Joseph Warren between 1840 and 1850. That is probable, although there is no mention of any such school in Dr. Warren's memoir of his first fifteen years in India. Beginning as a primary-vernacular school it had developed into an Anglo-vernacular middle school by 1870.

When Dr. Lucas first became acquainted with the school, soon after 1870, it was in the charge of J. J. Walsh. Jacob Simeon, who later became a lawyer of the Allahabad High Court, was then head-master. For many years the classes were held in the Katra church building. When in 1901 the congregation occupied a new building, several rooms were added to the rear of the old church edifice to accommodate more classes, the increase in enrolment being due largely to the good influence of Mr. Pratt, the head-master, who rendered more than a quarter of a century of efficient service.

When the school had outgrown its enlarged quarters, Government offered a grant of seven thousand rupees on condition that an equal amount be raised for a new building. The old building and ground were sold and seven thousand rupees of the proceeds were used to provide half the cost of a new school building which was erected along side of the new Katra Church. An editorial in the *Pioneer*⁸ denounced the Mission for selling a building which had once been used for divine worship. A part of the proceeds of this sale were used to build Bethel Hostel, close by on the other side of the church.

In 1895 the enrolment of Katra boys' school was one hundred and fifteen, a great majority of whom were Hindu and Moslem boys. After serving the community for about eighty years this boys' school was closed in 1932. The reasons for closing it after such a long period of usefulness were both educational and financial. Since its closing the

buildings have been utilized by the Wanamaker girls' school. Had the era of co-education come a few years sooner the same building might have become a school for both boys and girls.⁹

In chapter one mention was made of the chapel which Joseph Warren built for the use of the Christian employees of the Press. J. J. Lucas gave his early recollection of this church thus:

The church was quite an impressive building with its verandah and large imposing white pillars facing the street. When I came to India in 1870 it was not only the place of worship in Hindustani, but also services and a Sunday school in English were conducted on Sunday mornings under supervision of the chaplain of the Church of Scotland.¹⁰

The subsequent history of this building has just been given in connection with the Katra boys' school. In 1892 the Mission asked friends in America to give money for a new church. The following year the Board was pleased to appropriate five thousand rupees for the proposed new church in Katra, Allahabad, on the understanding that an equal amount would be raised in India. In August 1900 the corner stone of the new church edifice was laid. Dr. Lucas described the site as being "in another part of the Mission compound but facing the same road as that of the old building." Due largely to the perseverance of J. M. Alexander, local missionary in Katra, local funds were subscribed and the building was completed in time for dedication on New Year's Day, 1901. The annual report of that year states that the total cost of the new church was eight thousand rupees.¹¹

For thirty-five years Allahabad Christians have maintained their Christian activities in and through this house of God. At the end of this first century the large congregation worshipping under the shadow of the University is finding itself constantly challenged to make Christ speak to the modern generation of city people and inquiring students.

These events, though narrated separately, were not isolated activities. Writing, editing, printing; preaching, teaching, supervising; healing the sick and ministering to the

blind and to lepers; buying, building and using in Christ's name,—all were events and efforts to be correlated and blessed by the Master of all. Nor was Allahabad station an independent mission. Frequent transfers to and from this center revealed the fact of the closest relation and co-operation between this work and the work up country. In fact these transfers were so frequent that in 1875 W. F. Johnson was inspired to write a satire on the situation as he saw it.¹²

The medical work opened in 1873 was a very definite evangelistic agency from the very beginning. The selling of the press did not mean that literary work was to be neglected. The mention of the names of Owen, Kellogg, Walsh, Alexander, Johnson and Lucas reminds us that much useful literary work was being executed. Every year witnessed the baptism of non-Christians as well as a steady, though slow increase in the number of church members. Of course the growth of the community brought not only problems in relation to property and economics but also at times very serious moral problems. The drink habit seems at times to have caused much anxiety.

In 1892 there were at work in Allahabad, eleven missionaries, six missionary assistants, two Indian ordained men (one of them a pastor), four catechists, four licentiates, and thirteen teachers. Writing of school work in the nineties Mr. Alexander stated: "Nothing gives me more satisfaction and pleasure than the fifty minutes' service held in the church (Katra) with the boys each Saturday at the close of school."¹³ J. J. Lucas' report of that year is to the same effect: "The preaching of the Gospel in city and village, in church and bazar, by the river-side and in quiet places, has never seemed more pleasant and more needed."

Miss Symes experienced the fact that "Joy and sorrow are woven fine," for in the same report she was obliged to record the sudden death of Dr. Seward and the opening of the new hospital. She wrote:

One woman inquired if the salvation we were telling about was for them also, and expressed great surprise on being told that it was for all mankind and that whosoever will may take of the water of life freely.¹⁴

Similar statements of light and shadow might be quoted regarding the girls' school, the blind asylum and other institutions. In a later chapter we shall detail the medical and educational work. And in that connection it is hoped that the magnificent growth of the twentieth century may be seen in the light of the difficult pioneering days of the nineteenth. In 1886 the Secretary in New York reminded his colleagues on the field that they had only one thousand souls as a harvest of fifty years' witness. Some indeed became weary in well doing, but at no time was there a majority vote in favor of pessimism and discouragement. In the evening time of the century there was light that shone as a token of the dawn of a better day.

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Also *Men of Might in India Missions*, HOLCOMB, pp. 326 ff.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 198.
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- ⁶ *History of A. P. Missions*, p. 142.
- ⁷ Private correspondence of J. J. LUCAS.
See *After One Hundred Years*, Chapter by J. J. LUCAS.
- ⁸ *Allahabad's daily paper*.
- ⁹ See Mission records.
- ¹⁰ See letter of J. J. LUCAS.
- ¹¹ See Board report.
- ¹² See old letters and reports.
- ¹³ See mission report, 1892.
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CHAPTER VIII

HISTORY OF FARRUKHABAD AND MAINPURI IN THE MIDDLE PERIOD

FARRUKHABAD-FATEHGARH

THE Scotts and Fullertons who had so bravely undertaken the work of restoration in Rakha and Barhpur after the Mutiny were not privileged to serve there for very long. On account of failing health both families sought sanatorium in the Landour Hills in 1863. Mr. Fullerton's death in Landour in October 1865 was the first death from natural causes of any of the men in service. J. J. Lucas in his memoir of Fullerton gave many fine tributes to this brave soldier of the Cross. Only God knows how much the strain of the suffering times of 1857 may have shortened his life.

In 1861 there was again widespread famine in India as a result of which there was a new supply of hungry boys dependent on the Mission and Church for sustenance.

The first annual meeting of the Farrukhabad Mission was held in Fatehgarh (Rakha) in 1855. Subsequent meetings were held there in 1859, 1863, 1870, 1881, 1886 and in later years. In 1886 there was a joint meeting of the Ludhiana, the Kolhapur and the Farrukhabad Missions in Barhpur.

Since the Government had not seen fit to give land at Lakhpera for a new site, in November 1859 it was "finally decided to rebuild on the old sites."¹ All forms of work were resumed with enthusiasm on the part of the missionaries and Indian Christians and with a very gratifying response from the community. Mrs. Holcomb wrote:

In February 1859 a Sabbath evening service was begun in the building (Farrukhabad) occupied by the girls' school. In May a communion service was held in an upper room, the occasion being one of deep interest as it was the first time that the sacrament had been administered in the city of Farrukhabad. The schools were more prosperous than ever, with total enrolment of five hundred.²

With the exception of the industries in Rakha village there seemed to be a steady growth in all lines of work. In 1867 S. H. Kellogg's very interesting account of district touring was published in *The Foreign Missionary*.³ About 1868 Messrs. Johnson and Ullman opened Chhibramau as an out-station. In this same year the report gave the total staff as follows:

Fatehgarh (Rakha)—Ullmans, Johnsons and thirty assistants.

Farrukhabad (Barhpur)—Brodheads, Kelloggs and fifteen assistants.

In 1869 the Rakha and Barhpur Churches sent nearly one thousand rupees to America to help to make up the Board's deficit of the year before. At the same time Allahabad friends sent eight hundred and sixty-two rupees for the same purpose.

Miss Philadelphia A. Brink, M.D., was the first doctor to be appointed to our work. Efforts to establish medical work in Fatehgarh in 1873 were not successful and Miss Brink returned to the home land.

Board letters of that decade are interesting, not only as they apply to this station but also for their bearing on the problems of the whole Mission. For instance in September 1866 the Mission was told: "There is not a volunteer for India this year . . . your ranks are thinning and yet we have no prospects." The letter of July 1867 contained this: "Where is the band of native preachers that Allahabad and Farrukhabad should have reared in thirty years?" The next year the complaint was registered that nearly one half of the Board's total budget for foreign missions was being spent in India. The letter of January 1870 contained the following suggestions on policy:

1. That large stations should be fully manned.
2. That wherever possible Indian ministers be made pastors.
3. That the religious character of all schools be maintained.
4. That we aim for more efficient zenana work.

Work among non-Christian women was growing. In 1873 Mrs. Tracy mentioned the fact that "purdah" ladies

had begun to venture to their house to visit and to be taught. Earlier Mrs. Kellogg was glad to state that six girls' schools had been opened in Farrukhabad and "there were increasing opportunities for work in the zenanas."⁴ Dr. Kellogg reported that a few high caste Hindu women had begun to attend the Sabbath service, "a thing without precedent in these parts." In 1874 Pandit Mohan Lal was installed pastor of the Farrukhabad congregation. 1881 witnessed Kanauj opened for work while Qaimganj became a regular out-station about 1890. Mr. Tracy, concerned about making the high school more evangelistic, suggested in 1876 that the English classes be abandoned, but this was not done. Ishwari Das, the head-master, was ordained in 1866 and transferred to Fatehpur. In January 1880 J. C. R. Ewing became manager of the boys' high school.⁵

RAKHA

At Rakha the Johnsons found the work "in some respects trying yet with elements of encouragement." In the year 1871 Mr. Johnson taught a class of seven theological students. In 1874 Rakha Church called its own Indian pastor. In 1884 Mr. Woodside closed the boys' orphanage in Rakha and sent the few remaining boys to Saharanpur. The orphanage for girls was continued. There were frequent changes in the management of Rakha village in an effort to bring about more harmony and more progress in the work. In 1866 the station requested the Board to appoint a layman to Rakha, presumably with the hope that a layman would be a more successful business manager. The reply from New York was that such a person would not remain a layman very long and that his "social standing would be a serious drawback."

Even after the Rakha industries were closed there remained the difficult work of acting as landlord. The minutes of 1873 show how unsatisfactory the situation was. Long, patient and prayerful effort was put forth in order that the Mission might not appear to be remiss in its obligations towards the citizens of the village. In 1890 C. A. R. Janvier wrote:

The dark side of the Rakha picture is still the conspicuous one; nor is it much less dark than in previous years. But there is a bright side too. The question of the tenure of the mission held by Christians had of late been in some confusion. As a result of much consultation and persuasion all but one or two paid a part of what was due for the past year, and promised to have regard for the mission's claims in the future. I think the principle is established.⁶

Finally, when conditions did not improve, a special meeting of the Mission was convened in Allahabad in April 1893, when it was decided to ask Government to relieve the Mission of all legal responsibility in Rakha village. Some land was reserved for Mission purposes. The Government was asked "to settle the land upon those who are now in possession of it." Any land not included in the two above classifications was to be sold "for the benefit of the Rakha Orphanage." The home secretary expressed the hope that this would be "the end of that very perplexing question." The attitude of the missionaries of that time was expressed in a minute of 1892 to the effect that "it has long been the settled policy to discourage the formation of any more Christian villages." "New occasions" and "new duties" had arisen since the opening of the orphanage in 1838.

FARRUKHABAD

But if work seemed to be waning in Rakha it was waxing in Farrukhabad. Several times additional pieces of land were purchased. In 1864 Mr. Brodhead bought land in the city for a school. In 1876 Mr. Tracy bought a site for a city church. In 1884 twelve feet more of front were added to this latter site. As early as 1870 S. H. Kellogg had begun to solicit funds for a church building in Farrukhabad City. In 1881 the Mission approved a request to the Board for eight thousand rupees for this same object, and building preparations began. The records contain a ground plan of the church, modelled after the Agra Church, and the architect's explanation as stated by C. A. R. Janvier under date of February 1889. Building operations began in February 1890, but work had to be stopped the next year because of lack of funds. Below is a paragraph from Janvier's report of October 1891:

Work on the Farrukhabad Church ceased entirely for a considerable period. Though it was resumed immediately upon the receipt of the good news of an additional grant from the Board, yet there have been so many hindrances and interruptions that it will yet take about a fortnight to fit the building for occupation. We hope to dedicate it in the course of the winter.⁸

The dedication did not take place until March 1893. Prior to the opening of this church regular Sunday worship had been held in the boys' school building. During this period Gulam Masih and Rajaram Chitambar are mentioned as being engaged in pastoral and preaching duties in the city.

The educational program gradually changed its nature. From the numerous day schools in wards and villages developed the larger groups with higher classes and boarding schools attached. The pecuniary aid for these many small schools, the annual gift of Maharajah Dulip Singh for about thirty-five years, was stopped in 1891. The same metamorphosis, more gradual perhaps, was taking place in female education. By the close of the century the name school had gradually begun to supplant the word orphanage at Rakha. Barhpur compound was alive with boys who had forsaken the villages for hostel life, no matter how humble the quarters might be.

VILLAGE WORK

The annual reports of John Forman in the early nineties indicate a growing interest on the part of village people as well as a growing opposition from the Arya Samaj Hindus. In 1893-94 a training school for Christian workers was opened in Barhpur by John Forman. Secretary A. W. Halsey in 1912 gave a résumé of seventy-five years of missionary effort in our Church. On the cover of this printed pamphlet is a picture of Thomas Scott and his family, of Fatehgarh. Perhaps no better illustration of the vicissitudes and hard-fought spiritual victories of this period could be given than to state that in 1878 Thomas Scott was considered guilty of theft and was dismissed from Mission service, but three years later the charges were withdrawn and he was reinstated in honourable Christian service.

This part of the narrative which essays to show the state of growth on the eve of the Mass Movement, is too brief

to do justice to all who helped the good cause along. George B. Rulach had already begun his long and useful career as head-master. J. C. R. and Mrs. Ewing spent their first two years 1880-82 in this station. Others there were, both Americans and Indians, whose worthy names, if not recorded here, have not been omitted by the recording angel of good deeds done in the Master's name. The half has not been told for there are yet to be narrated the stories of medical work, of women's activities in school, village and hospital; and last but not least the splendid days of the Mass Movement.

This section closes with the prophetic words of Mrs. Holcomb, found at the end of her jubilee history:

The hearts of the laborers here have not been gladdened as in some other parts of India, by seeing multitudes turn to the Lord; ours has not yet been the joy of seeing a nation born in a day; yet we are not without precious tokens of the Lord's blessing. We confidently believe that God has a favor unto his people, and that from this part of India many, many bright jewels shall be gathered for the Savior's crown.⁹

Without such hope and faith in the hearts and lives of our predecessors the Mass Movement would never have taken place.

MAINPURI

When Augustus Brodhead took charge of Mainpuri in 1859 he found the buildings in ruins, all except the school-house. The head-master appeared about the same time, after having spent about two years in a place of safety. In September 1860 regular divine service was resumed, following the long break caused by the troubles of 1857. By the end of that same year Mr. Brodhead was able to report the restoration of most of the buildings. In 1862 the Brodheads were succeeded by Mr. and Mrs. B. D. Wyckoff. In 1868 the Alexanders succeeded the Wyckoffs and, with the exception of furloughs in America, continued in this station until 1882.

In 1865 Mainpuri Church had eighteen members. In 1881 the Board made a grant of three thousand rupees for the erection of a chapel. Two years later this amount was

supplemented. Also Indian friends, both Christians and non-Christians, contributed about twelve hundred rupees for this church. Late in 1882 this chapel was completed and was dedicated by Mr. Alexander on the eve of his transfer to Allahabad. This property was sold in 1907 and the windows of the church were used in the new Central Training School.

The annual mission meeting was held for the first time in Mainpuri in the fall of 1862. One feature of this meeting was a visit of the missionaries to the high school. Subsequent annual meetings were held there in 1869, 1878, 1887 and 1892.

In 1869 the *Foreign Missionary Magazine* contained a very vivid account by Francis Heyl of preaching to the villagers at their annual gathering near the opium sheds. They came by the thousands from far and wide and often had to wait several days to get their yearly crop of opium weighed and accepted. In those days in several fields this annual event afforded an excellent place for preaching. Opium growing in Mainpuri has been discontinued.

In 1886 Mrs. Alexander wrote enthusiastically of eleven girls' schools under her supervision in Mainpuri town and nearby villages. The following year she proudly reported the existence of a normal training school also in her charge, and drew attention to the fact that a woman had a few months before succeeded a pundit as principal of this school.

Women's work in Mainpuri became the special project of one of the women's societies in America. In 1873 the Louisa Lowrie Home was built, the funds for which were furnished by the Presbyterian ladies of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Even before this house was erected Miss Sly and Miss Dickey had been stationed in Mainpuri. Strange to relate, the Alexanders were the first occupants of this new home. We quote here a story from Mrs. Holcomb's jubilee history:

The second of April 1872 was a memorable day in Mainpuri. The Mission house was full of guests, and also tents on the compound. The church was prettily decorated and everything wore a gala look. On that day the Rev. Thomas Tracy was united in marriage to Miss N. M. Dickey and the Rev. J. J. Lucas to Miss Eva Sly, the Rev. Alexander performing the ceremony for both.¹⁰

Mainpuri could now rest on her laurels and need not to worry about progress for the next decade! But what a blow to the good Pittsburgh ladies who had built the Louisa Lowrie home! The Lucas's continued to live in Mainpuri, in a rented house, while the Tracys took up work in Rakha, Fatehgarh.

Miss Margaret Hardie, missionary from 1874 to 1876, was the first single lady to occupy the new house. Miss Elizabeth Walsh, who was sent to this station in 1878, seems to have been the second occupant. The following year Miss Walsh shared her home with two new recruits, Misses Sara S. Hutchinson and Frances Perley.

In the early seventies an effort was made to have the local Indian Christians live in the town and away from the compound, but the effort was evidently not very successful. From 1880 till 1884 the Lucas's were a second time in Mainpuri. Of this period one story must suffice:

The old journal tells of baptisms in Mainpuri, seven of them following soon after a day of prayer and fasting which was kept by the Mission and the Mainpuri Church. Mrs. Lucas and I went that afternoon to the church which was then in the heart of the city, and after singing a hymn and before any word had been spoken, a Hindu stood up and said he wished to become a Christian. We felt that this was the first clear answer to the prayers that had been going up all day and so I baptized him, and then, week after week, there were baptisms which we traced back to this day of prayer and fasting. One day while we were preaching in front of the city church, a young Brahman, Sheo Narain, came forward and confessed Christ as his Lord and Saviour. I baptized him then and there and he came to live with our beloved Pundit Baldeo Prashad Dube.¹¹

The original school property was sold about 1875. In 1884 permission was given to J. J. Lucas to ask for fifteen hundred rupees to be used for opening a boarding school for Christian boys. In 1890 T. E. Inglis inaugurated a "Co-operative Store" whose functions were those of employment agency and banking.

Other letters from New York reflected the mind of the home folks as regards Mainpuri as well as the rest of the field. The letter of April 1881 stated that twice as much money was being spent by our Board in India as in any

other field, "and yet the members do not reach one thousand." In January 1884 came the pertinent question, "Is not the time for reaping near?" It was indeed near, but someone in Mainpuri evidently did not consider it to be very near, for the report of 1893-94 stated that, "Mainpuri seems unfortunately located for district work, being the center of a barren tract of country." However, the very next year the tone of the report was very different, for in it we read of hopeful signs among the Chamars and Sweepers of Shikohabad township.

The following quotation from Mr. Inglis indicates that the little flock in Mainpuri town was performing its functions as "salt" and "light."

I have been more than once gratified by the praise of our highest officials, on the neat homes, the well-kept children and diligent wives of our Christians and the heartiness of their Sabbath worship.¹²

The story of divine blessings and spiritual growth in this field of course does not end here. Mainpuri was not a barren field. Even though as yet there had been little fruit in the villages, the Word was working quietly and slowly. Etah, which was opened as an out-station in 1873, soon bade fair to outgrow the mother station. Before the end of the century the Mainpuri people were planning to push as far north as Kasganj in Etah. We leave the narrative here on the eve of the Mass Movement which was so soon to engage the attention of the whole missionary world. From our point of view we see God's hand at work in details which perhaps were not discernible to those in service at that time.

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- ³ March number.
- ⁴ See annual *Board reports*.
- ⁵ See reports and *Holcomb's history*.
- ⁶ *Report of Farrukhabad Mission*, 1889-90, p. 21.
- ⁷ See *Mission Minutes* and *Board Letters*.
- ⁸ *Farrukhabad Mission report*, p. 27.
- ⁹ See above, p. 149.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 139.
- ¹¹ *Mary Eveline Lucas*, 1933, p. 13.
- ¹² *Annual Report of 1890*.

CHAPTER IX

ETAH AND KASGANJ; CAWNPORE AND SHIKOHABAD

THERE is enough interesting history on the planting of the Church in Etah to make up a small volume. Other stations were opened early and developed slowly, while Etah was opened late and developed rapidly. Its distance from the railway may have delayed the sending of missionaries there, but its proximity to the Methodist mass movement field made it ripe for the harvest even before the first American missionaries arrived. As early as 1873 Etah was considered an out-station of Mainpuri. The report of 1881 mentioned four girls' schools, one in each of four towns including Etah itself. The report for 1886 mentioned a boys' school and also a girls' school in Chamarpura, a fifth village. Mr. Seeley, Mr. Alexander and Dr. J. J. Lucas at different times reported satisfactory progress of these schools.

Writing in the eighties Mrs. Holcomb made reference to Pandit Rajaram Chitambar who "was ordained in 1883 and soon after was appointed to take charge of the work at Etah, which had been an out-station of Mainpuri."¹ In 1884 J. J. Lucas of Mainpuri visited Etah and on 23 March organized the first church, of which Rev. R. Chitambar became the pastor. In 1885 two graves in Etah cost eighteen rupees. The item tells nothing about the number of Christians but reveals the high cost of burial in those days. During those early days two or three girls' schools were taught by non-Christian women, but were under the supervision of Mr. and Mrs. Chitambar. The church had to be reorganized in 1897.

About 1895 Etah was made an out-station of Fatehgarh. In the late nineties Henry Forman of Fatehgarh was the missionary in charge. When in 1899 Forman reported that during the year just closed he had baptized four hundred and sixty people from among the out-castes, some of his

colleagues were jubilant while others felt that the whole Mission had been disgraced. In 1900 Etah was made a regular Mission station and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Forman were appointed as resident missionaries there. They lived in tents while Mr. Forman erected the first building. That building, by the side of the Grand Trunk Road, is still standing and in recent years has served as both school-house and church.

In December 1901 Mr. and Mrs. A. G. McGaw were transferred from Etawah to succeed the Formans who went on furlough in 1902. The McGaws' thirty years of golden deeds in Etah might well be made the outline of the whole history of the station. They spent their first season in tents, then lived in the original building until October 1902, when the second building (first actual bungalow) was ready for occupancy. When the McGaws left Etawah they took with them fifteen boys from the orphanage, the rest of the seventy boys being transferred to Fatehgarh.² When after two busy seasons in their new field, they left for America in the spring of 1903, they were relieved by Mr. and Mrs. John Forman who carried on the work for more than a year.

In November 1904 Etah's expanding program was provided for in the following Mission action:

That Mr. and Mrs. McGaw and Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence be stationed at Etah; Mr. and Mrs. McGaw to have charge of the training schools for men and women and Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence to have charge of the boys' school, and that they divide the district work as may seem best; and that Miss Prentiss have charge of the girls' boarding school.³

John Forman's report of their work in Etah contains several interesting things. Prabhu Datt was the pastor of the central church. They had had a wonderful Christmas gathering. The two most important rural centres were Awagarh and Jalesar. A boarding school for girls had been opened in a stable and in a carriage house built of sun-dried bricks. The number in the boys' boarding school had varied from thirty-six to sixty-four. In the training classes for adults they had taught twenty-two men and fifteen women. The total number of baptized village people was just under one thousand, and in addition to these there were, in the

villages, six hundred and thirty who had been baptized by the Methodists and others. The total number of workers was fifty-one, of whom one was ordained. And finally, he wrote of a self-supporting church of over one hundred members.⁴

In 1901 Henry Forman established a village teachers' training school consisting mostly of young married couples. This school continued in Etah for twelve years and prepared practically all the teachers, men and wives, in Etah at that time, also provided workers for other fields. Later several of these couples were sent to the Central Training School, Mainpuri, or to Saharanpur Seminary. In those twelve years over two hundred received Christian training.⁵

Mission-owned land in Etah City and environs is divided into three plots but it is not considered as three compounds. What is known as the first compound, it being the site of the first bungalow, is situated quite near the Mission's original property and also close to Etah town. What is referred to as the second compound is more than a mile west of the first compound. The boys' school, the adult training school and the girls' school were all begun on compound number one, that is, on the second piece of Mission property:

When in 1907 Mr. Lawrence completed the second bungalow (on the second compound) and also the Horace Cleland Memorial dormitory for boys (on the same compound), the girls' school was moved into the building formerly used by the boys on the first compound. When the Lawrences moved to Kasganj in 1911 the boys' school was moved back to its old quarters on the first compound and Miss Margaret Morrow and the girls moved to the second compound, where Miss Morrow continued in charge until her death in 1913.⁶

Dates of erection of buildings in Etah:

- 1901. Church-school-bungalow building on original property.
- 1902. First Mission bungalow, on compound number one.
Quarters for training school, on same.
Quarters for boys' school, on same.
- 1903. Quarters for girls' school, on compound number one.
- 1906-7. Second bungalow, on second compound.
Cleland Memorial dormitory, on same.
- 1913. Poultry Farm opened on compound number two.
- 1916. Bungalow for single ladies, on first compound.

Prentiss School for Girls, same compound.

Fourth bungalow (Slaters'), on compound number two.

Lilly Memorial hostel for boys, on same.

1922. The dispensary, opposite to compound number two.

1931. Laying of corner-stone of church, on the east side of the first compound.

1932. Class-rooms for boys, opposite Lilly School.

The money for the bungalow built in 1907 was a gift from friends of Mr. McGaw, of Minonk, Illinois. The money for the first boys' hostel was given by Mr. and Mrs. Cleland of California in memory of their son Horace. The Clelands were friends of the McGaws and also of Dr. J. J. Lucas. The second boys' building was provided for by a gift of Mrs. George P. Lilly of Anderson, Indiana, in memory of her husband. Mrs. Lilly and her daughter, Mrs. Harry E. Campbell, still make annual contributions for the repairs of the building and for the support of boys. Funds for the girls' school and hostels were composed of gifts from Miss Elizabeth Prentiss and her mother, a Halsey memorial gift from Chicago, and a contribution from the Kennedy funds. Money and property left by Miss Morrow became the possession of the Mission after 1913.

Elizabeth V. Prentiss taught in the Etah girls' school from 1903 till 1905. Margaret J. Morrow had charge of the same school from 1909 till the time of her death in 1913. Lena B. Ruchti had a hand in this good work, 1910-11. Dr. Annie Young gave about one year of medical service in Etah, 1909-10. Between 1911 and 1915 three ladies contributed honorary service, namely, Miss Owen, Miss Robertson and Miss Ashby. In 1913 Miss Mary P. Forman began her long period of faithful witness in Etah when she assumed the management of the Prentiss School for girls. For several years there was a widows' home, sometimes managed by Miss Forman, sometimes by Miss Galbreath.

Once work in Etah station was initiated the long-standing spiritual needs of the people were recognized and provided for as rapidly as possible. The energy and devotion of young and enthusiastic missionaries, the hearty co-operation of Indian associates, the warm response of the people

and the thrill of growing and building something new nearly every year, made this decade of development in Etah the most romantic episode in the whole history of our Mission. The work was not carried on without numerous dangers and difficulties. Mrs. McGaw had a breakdown in health while Mr. McGaw suffered two serious breakdowns during those early years. In 1907 a villager stabbed Mr. McGaw in the back. In that same year Mr. McGaw wrote of the thrill of being allowed to carry away a village goddess which had been surrendered to them by a village group who had become Christian.⁷

In 1909 we find in the Board report this laconic statement:

Ten years ago Etah was an out-station occupied by two or three Indian workers, with about twenty Christians. Today it has one hundred Indian workers, 4,652 Christians, thirteen churches, twenty-seven out-stations, forty-three schools, and an income from local sources of six hundred rupees.⁸

Further testimony to the same fervent activity is found in the 1911 report where we read that one hundred Christians walked the four days' trek to Agra to attend the World's Christian Endeavour Convention, singing and preaching all along the way. The same report mentions "converts from Brahmans, Thakurs, Baniyas, Ahirs, Chamars, Telis and Sweepers."⁹

During the first decade both the local work and the villages were divided between the two missionary families. In 1911, after the Lawrences returned from furlough, it was decided to make a permanent division of the field and consequently the Lawrences were transferred to Kasganj, a Railway junction twenty miles to the north. This division did not settle the problem of overlapping with the Methodists, a matter which was amicably settled two years later. When the Methodists withdrew from Etah in 1913, the number of our Christians was at once nearly doubled.

In November 1912 Mr. and Mrs. Arthur E. Slater were transferred from Allahabad to the second compound, Etah, and within a few months they began poultry breeding and fruit raising. From 1911 to 1914 A. W. Moore got his first taste of evangelistic work in India, as he looked after

several thousands of Etah's Christians. It is impossible to narrate the whole story of Etah, treating the station as a unit. The remainder of the tale will have to be given piece-meal. The McGaws were still carrying on the Gospel work in 1930 when a breakdown in Mr. McGaw's health resulted in their retirement. With the exception of two short intervals, Mary Forman was in charge of the girls' school from 1913 till her retirement in 1935. Miss Galbreath who began her teaching work among women and girls in 1915 is still serving Christ in that same community. The Slaters have celebrated a quarter of century of life and work in Etah.

In November and December 1930 a survey was made of Etah. The chairman of the committee was Bishop J. Waskom Pickett and Dr. Warren H. Wilson was technical adviser. They were assisted by Mr. and Mrs. E. Graham Parker and several Indian preachers. This survey revealed among other things that, from 1890 till 1930, people had been baptized in seven hundred and forty-two villages of Etah, and that no less than forty-one people had had a share in administering these baptisms. In the measure of Christian attainments of ten communities Etah Christians stood fairly high. In fact Etah was given special mention because of the testimony to the effect that the Christians there are "more respected, less quarrelsome, more truthful, more religious and more law-abiding."¹⁰

KASGANJ

Kasganj, our most northern station, is the northern township of Etah District. This city of about twenty thousand has long enjoyed considerable importance. It lies along the road of thousands of Hindu pilgrims who go to the Ganges River for ceremonial bathing. Before the advent of railways this feature was even more important because of the fact that it is on the road between Agra and Soron, the latter being the nearest point on the Ganges to Agra. Since the opening of the meter gauge railway line in 1884, Kasganj has had a commercial growth denied to the county seat town of Etah itself, which, at present writing is still twenty miles from any railway line.

In March 1878 J. M. Alexander wrote from Mainpuri,

reporting the fact that the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England was then conducting a school in Kasganj, and suggested that, notwithstanding the fact of occupation by another mission, the time had come for us to begin missionary work in Kasganj. In 1884 J. J. Lucas proposed that the question of opening work in Kasganj be considered at the next annual meeting. The old records contain some correspondence between our chairman and the then secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and reveal a fraternal feeling on both sides. It was found that many villages contained baptized sweepers who had come from the adjoining territory of the Methodist Mission.¹¹

The logical outcome of the rapid growth of the Etah field was that one of its townships should become an independent field. So in 1911 the Lawrences were taken from their busy sphere in Etah and sent to Kasganj to buy land, build a bungalow and generally establish the work on a permanent and independent basis. The first year they lived in a rented house, since razed, on the site of our hospital. The first annual report of Kasganj station is that for 1913. At that time the number of baptized Christians in this new field was two thousand nine hundred and sixty-four, most of whom had previously been enumerated in the figures for Etah. It is of general historical interest to note here that when the first bungalow was erected, Mr. Lawrence preserved an old Sati monument which stood for another fifteen years in front of the bungalow. It commemorated the death of a Hindu widow who had ended her life on her husband's funeral pyre, the Hindu custom which Lord Bentinck attempted to stamp out in his edict of 1829.

Kasganj, long famous for its summer school, held its first summer school for three months in 1914. Other property was purchased in the town from the Methodists, and their Government middle school for boys was taken over. This school was closed in 1918 and the property was disposed of in 1920. During the time of the Lawrences there was great hope of the opening up of work in a certain community of Chamar farmers, but this turned out to be a disappointment. Kasganj field has the highest proportion of baptized sweepers of all of our fields.

Since 1916 the evangelistic and church work has been under the efficient supervision and progressive leadership of Mr. and Mrs. Glenn B. Ogden. A very simple church was built on the compound in 1922. The newest feature of the Kasganj work is the presence of Miss Dorothy L. Dragon, who has been stationed there to help with the program of instruction for women and children both in the city and in the villages.¹²

In 1927 there was established a plan of monthly worship services held in each pastor's circle, usually under the guidance of the district missionary. From the beginning great emphasis has been put on learning to read and the development of a literate community. Not only have many Christians become literate in their own villages, but hundreds of boys and girls have been sent to boarding schools, and over one hundred adults have taken full or partial training in the Mainpuri Central Training School.¹³ The account of the medical work and the erection of a modern hospital there in 1928, on another site quite close to the original compound, will be given in the chapter on medical work.

CAWNPORE

What a contrast between Kasganj and Cawnpore! One can make the contrast in his mind much more quickly than he can cover the one hundred and fifty miles between the two places on the slow trains which tarry long at every station.

Here may still be seen the foundations of the church which Henry Martyn prepared almost one hundred years ago, the first church in Cawnpore.¹⁴

The work of the American Presbyterian Mission in the busy manufacturing city of Cawnpore had its inception in the year 1901. Sylvannus M. Gillam, a new recruit and a bachelor, was sent to this smoky metropolis to lay the foundations of a new work. His envelope of instructions contained no money, nor was the Mission even able to provide a house for him. But he was given a free hand to ask for as much money as he thought he needed. In those rosy days the motto—ask and you shall receive—seemed to work, in all mission fields. Soon there was money available to pay the

rental of a house. This house was provided with a mistress in 1903, when Caroline E. Ewing and Mr. Gillam were united in marriage. Soon funds from America were on the way for new property and by 1907 these new missionaries were able to report that they had built and were occupying a new Mission house.¹⁵

The land situated near McRobertganj was asked from Government and in the original request it was proposed that on this property hostels be built for the use of employees (Christian and non-Christian) of the Victoria Mills nearby. It was also stated that the Mission contemplated a five-year program of building, to cost upwards of twenty thousand rupees. Some years later a hostel was built, but the program of hostels and night-schools as originally planned was never fully carried out.

With the exception of furloughs and a biennium in Farrukhabad, the supervision of all the work in Cawnpore was continuously in the hands of S. M. Gillam (Mrs. Gillam died in 1925) until his retirement in 1933. Part of the funds for Cawnpore work, church and mission, came from First Church, Binghamton, New York, the rest being subscribed by friends in Cawnpore. The church was organized in 1900 and became self-supporting about 1915. Six men have served it as pastors. The church was erected in 1917 and enlarged in 1928. On both occasions most of the members gave the equivalent of one month's salary as contributions towards the cost of the building. The pastor's house was built in 1931. In 1917 the supervision of the villages in a part of one township was taken over from the Methodist Mission and since that time this area has constituted a part of our evangelistic responsibility in Cawnpore.¹⁶ During the World War there were eight evangelistic workers engaged in Cawnpore and the adjoining rural area. This number has fluctuated during the years. A program of village schools, and ward-and-night-schools in the city has been prosecuted with more or less consistent effort.

In 1934 action was taken looking toward the closing of the missionary activities in Cawnpore. This of course did not contemplate any lessening of spiritual effort in and through the local church. At present there is but one paid

Mission worker under our supervision in Cawnpore. In 1934 Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Louch, who had lived in Cawnpore before, were transferred from Mainpuri to Cawnpore to succeed the Gillams and to carry on, with a very small budget, the work for which the Mission still feels responsible in this growing city.

WELFARE WORK

In effect from 1 April 1922, an agreement was signed between the Mission and the British India Corporation of Cawnpore, according to which the Mission covenanted "to assist them (the British India Corporation) in ameliorating the conditions of life of the work people, for a period of eight years." Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Wiser were appointed to carry out the Mission's pledge to the Corporation. At the time of their furlough in 1922—they began work in Cawnpore in 1919—they were succeeded by Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Robinson who in turn were succeeded by the Louchs. When the agreement was terminated by mutual consent in March 1926, the work was taken up by the Rev. C. H. Mattison, a former member of our Mission.¹⁷

The Mission and church in Cawnpore, though located in an urban area, have had a vital part in the mass movement work, in that the Cawnpore people have shepherded the hundreds of village Christian men who have gone to the city to seek a livelihood.

SHIKOHABAD

Shikohabad township occupies the south-western section of Mainpuri District. This town of twelve thousand, located thirty miles from Mainpuri town, is situated at the junction of the main line of the East India Railway and its Farrukhabad Branch. It is an important market for *ghee* and grain. In addition to two large cotton and oil presses and a glass factory, an electric bulb factory is being built. The citizens of the town and community support two private high schools.

Shikohabad field was formerly Methodist territory but in 1912 an agreement was reached whereby we Presbyterians took full charge of the work there. About 1890 Mr.

Thomas Tracy built for the Mission a two-room house within the town, the same to be used by missionaries while touring in that part of the district. In the early days a part of this township was worked from Mainpuri, a part from Etawah and still another part was related to Etah. In 1915 Mr. and Mrs. A. W. Moore were transferred from Etah to Mainpuri and were assigned the supervision of the whole of Mainpuri District, a work which up till that time had been divided between two missionaries. Pursuant to the Moores' going on leave Miss Harriet Lockrow worked in Shikohabad, 1920-22.

The Easter offerings of 1922 of the American Presbyterian Sunday schools were appropriated by the Board for use in our Mass Movement work. Out of these generous funds about thirty-two thousand rupees each were allocated to opening two new stations, one in Shikohabad and the other in Kaimganj in the Farrukhabad District. The small house in the town was given in exchange for seven acres of land bordering on the Agra road, one half-mile west of the town. Upon return from their first furlough in 1922 the Moores were stationed in Shikohabad, and began at once the erection of the fine bungalow which they now occupy.¹⁸

The work has grown steadily and is not confined to conversions among the Sweeper caste. About four hundred and fifty Chamar farmers have become Christians and there are Chamar inquirers in at least sixty villages. The whole effort of the Moores and their colleagues is rural-centric and the main purpose is to establish a rural church.

About the Branch Poultry Farm opened in 1930 and the rural medical work opened by Marion Lockwood Moore in 1924, more will be written in appropriate places. A fuller word about the village church will also be found in the chapter on the Mass Movement.¹⁹

REFERENCES

- ¹ *Holcomb*, p. 148.
- ² Notes by Mrs. McGaw. Also see records.
- ³ *Mission Minutes*, 1904, pp. 7-8.
- ⁴ *Annual report*, 1902-03, J. N. FORMAN.
- ⁵ Mrs. McGaw's Notes of 1935.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ *Diary of A. G. McGaw*, Jan. 1907.
- ⁸ *Report of General Assembly*, 1909.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ *Christian Mass Movements in India*, 1933, J. WASKOM PICKETT, p. 210.
- ¹¹ *Mission Minutes* and miscellaneous pamphlets.
- ¹² See *General Board Minutes*, 1934.
- ¹³ See Notes by G. B. OGDEN.
- ¹⁴ Report, 1906, p. 88.
- ¹⁵ *Mission Minutes*, 1907, p. 27.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- ¹⁷ See 1922 *Mission Minutes*.
- ¹⁸ See Board letter, June 20 1922, p. 6.
- ¹⁹ See annual reports and also notes by A. W. Moore.

CHAPTER X

WANAMAKER SCHOOL AND ALLAHABAD CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

THE *Mary Wanamaker High School* began in 1885 in the Jumna Church, Allahabad. The school was opened by Mrs. J. J. Lucas as a venture of faith. Before 1885 girls who wished to attend high school had to make the long and then difficult journey to Dehra Dun, the last forty-two miles of the route being accomplished in horse-drawn vehicles. For the first two years classes continued to be held in the church building. The first teacher was Miss Clarke, a daughter of Mr. Joshua Clarke, at that time Assistant Registrar of the High Court, and for many years an elder in St. Andrew's Church. ✓

By 1887 Government recognition was secured, and at the same time a building grant of six thousand rupees. The North-western Women's Board of Foreign Missions of Chicago, which supported Mrs. Lucas throughout her service in India, gave six thousand dollars for the same purpose. The buildings, erected then for what until 1903 was called the Jumna Mission Girls' School, have been continuously in use for residential and instructional purposes ever since, and now form part of the plant of Allahabad Christian College and the Jumna high school.

The second Principal of the school was Mrs. John Newton, under whose capable leadership it prospered. Mrs. Newton was ably assisted by Miss Morrow, later of the Rakha girls' school, Fatehgarh, and by Miss Colman, later of the girls' high school, Dehra Dun. Other able women who helped to build up the school in the first decade or so of its life were Mrs. Chuckerbutty and her daughter.

In 1898, when Miss Jane W. Tracy first became associated with the school, the Government grant for maintenance was one hundred rupees a month, at which figure it stood for five or six years longer. The first girls to pass the

✓ Matriculation examination, the precursor of the present high school examination, were also the first to appear from that examination, Misses Indubala Roy and Victoria Lewis.

✓ In 1902 the Allahabad Christian College was founded, and it was then decided to move the school to its present site at Katra. A compound of about eight acres, on which stood two old thatched bungalows, was bought from Mrs. Hamilton for twelve thousand rupees. One of the bungalows was removed and in its place was erected Wanamaker Hall, the main building of the school. The other bungalow was converted into a class-room. The main building of the school, ✓ erected in 1903, was given by Mr. John Wanamaker of Philadelphia, as a memorial to his wife, Mary. It was built by Frizzoni and Company at a cost of forty thousand rupees. When Sir James La Touche laid the foundation stone, he remarked that such a building would have cost Government double that amount. No grant was received from Government toward the cost of Wanamaker Hall, but years afterwards a grant was received toward the cost of an addition on the south side.

The process of moving from the old site to the new, while school was in regular session, is vividly described by Miss Tracy:

✓ We moved from our beautiful Jumna compound in December of 1903. That was a great moving because it had to be accomplished with the school in full session. It took two full weeks to complete the trek. Two of us would start out in the morning with a lunch basket, following on behind a line of fourteen well loaded handcarts. On arrival at Katra the carts were unloaded as quickly as possible and sent back for a second load. So two would stay at Katra, unpacking and arranging, while the rest of the staff packed and loaded and taught school! The last loads, which were sent on December twenty-second, consisted of our goods and chattels, beds, and cooking utensils. We had one exciting day in the new school and then all were off for the Christmas holidays!¹

Miss Mary P. Forman, who had served for one year before the move, continued as Principal for about ten years. She was again associated with the school in 1919-22. In 1910 she reported one hundred and thirty-six girls in the hostels, besides twelve day pupils. In the early days Miss

Forman was ably assisted by Miss Misra (Mrs. N. C. Mukerji) and Miss Agnes Anthony. Arthur H. Ewing was a tower of strength for the school, and always close at hand were Dr. and Mrs. J. J. Lucas.

Miss Evelyn Lucas with her gracious presence served the school from 1912 till the time of her marriage to C. D. Thompson in 1916, and continued always a true friend and helper. In the 1913 report we read: "No one has passed the Matriculation examination in four years . . . our Middle class has stood first in the Province for several years."² Making ends meet has often been a struggle. During the years of the Great War in particular the Principal was expected, more than ordinarily, to make bricks without straw.

In 1931 a small advisory committee, which had been for some time associated with the Principal in the management of the school, was transformed into a Board of Governors, with definite powers and responsibilities. This Board includes representatives of the staff, of the church, of other educational institutions and of the general constituency of the school.

In effect from July 1935 the Methodist Missionary Society assumed a share in the support of and responsibility for the school. This union brought a great enrichment of the school's life. The school believes that co-education is good in India as elsewhere, and accordingly admits both boys and girls to its primary classes. It believes that the seclusion of women is incompatible with true education. It believes that in the India of tomorrow educated women of the highest character, who have been touched by the spirit of the Master, will be more needed than ever. Its aim is to help our girls to meet that call.

A special appropriation of eleven thousand rupees from the American Church made possible in 1935 (Wanamaker's jubilee year) the building of new quarters for servants, a sanitary system for hostels and infirmary, garage for the school bus, which the Government's two-third contribution made a reality in 1935, and also the reconstruction of the class-room building. This practically new and modern building was dedicated in November 1935. It is called Lucas Hall in memory of Mrs. J. J. Lucas, the founder of the

school and life-long friend of the Institution. At the time of the dedication ceremony a memorial tablet to Mrs. Lucas was unveiled. Dr. J. J. Lucas was present and gave a simple and lovely tribute to his wife. This school, whose history is confined to the second half of the century under review, began its second fifty years of service under the capable supervision of Miss Henrietta J. Inglis whose visions and plans for the school are along the lines of steady progress and ever-increasing usefulness to the Church and community.³

ALLAHABAD CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

This history begins with a quotation from the educational survey of 1926, the editor of which was the late Dr. Henri C. Velte, a writer of ability and appreciation and a missionary who himself helped to make educational history in the Punjab.

✓ The story of this college when it comes to be written will read more like romance than real history, real though it is. From its beginning to the present day it has been a venture of faith. The idea of a college had long been in the mind of the Mission and its need was keenly felt, but the American Board was unwilling to give its consent. The annual meeting of the North India Mission in Mainpuri in 1900 is as memorable as that of the Punjab Mission in Lahore in 1885. Though at the time there was no thought of a college in the mind of the Mission, yet it was led to send a call to America for Dr. Arthur Henry Ewing, for the work in Allahabad, an action which eventually resulted in the founding of the college. In a joint meeting with the Punjab Mission in December of the same year the plan of a college took definite shape. The Punjab Mission gave up Arthur Ewing for the new college, a fitting return for the gift to them of the elder brother by the North India Mission fifteen years before.

✓ Late one Saturday night in March 1901, Arthur Ewing arrived in Allahabad and on Monday took over charge of Jumna High School from C. A. R. Janvier who that very day left for America. The following year when Dr. Ewing opened the college the way seemed blocked in all directions. The Educational Department took an unfriendly attitude and would not allow the new college to be affiliated with the University. The Board of Foreign Missions, while sanctioning the college, was unable to finance it, beyond paying the salary of its Principal; thus the college had to begin its work without funds and without

buildings. The difficulties seemed almost insurmountable, but Arthur Ewing's faith never wavered, his courage never failed.

While he pushed on the work in Allahabad, others as deeply interested in the success of the college as he was labored in America, foremost among them Dr. Janvier; friends were secured mostly in Philadelphia, whose munificent gifts made possible Ewing's splendid achievement. When he died at his post in 1912 the college was firmly established and its future success was assured. In order to meet the emergency created by this staggering loss, the Mission asked for the return to India of one who had been identified with the enterprise from the beginning. Dr. Janvier, resigning his pastorate in Philadelphia, returned to Allahabad and became Principal of the college. Under Dr. Janvier's able leadership the college grew and prospered.⁴

Prominent in these early activities was J. J. Lucas who stood by Dr. Ewing in every difficulty. The two of them together, after receiving a rebuff from the Minister of Education in Allahabad, went to Naini Tal to interview the Governor who told them that he looked with favor on the plans for a Christian College in Allahabad. This remark gave them the courage and the backing which they needed to enable them to go forward. Dr. Velte's statement is supplemented by one from Dr. Lucas:

At the meeting of the Mission (1900) there was no proposal to found a college. Seven years before the Mission had asked the sanction of the Board but it had not been given. I was appointed to present the matter to the Board in writing, while Messrs. John Forman and Janvier were asked to represent us in person. The Board gave its sanction and Arthur Ewing, but no appropriations for buildings. Without Ewing the college would still be on paper . . . the first college class was opened in 1902, with two students, the teachers being Arthur H. Ewing and Prabhu Das, with two part-time teachers in Oriental languages. Thus the college began without a grant; without much money, most of it sent by Dr. Janvier; without buildings and without recognition, and with opposition in influential quarters which made it uncertain whether students could be sent up for examinations.⁵

In the Lindsay report on education is the following description of the period, educationally speaking: "This period from 1859 to 1904 and later was the great period of the Christian College. Great opportunities were seized by great men, and Christian influence in higher education was at its height."⁶ We today rejoice that God's man was available to buy up the educational opportunity in Allahabad.

Secretary Robert E. Speer published a suitable memoir of the late Sir James Ewing of Punjab fame, but unfortunately no one has as yet written a similar tribute to the other Ewing, the younger brother. The nature of this history permits only a few words to do honor to the name of Arthur Henry Ewing, missionary in India from 1890 till 1912, founder of Allahabad Christian College and its Principal from 1902 till 1912.

His colleague, J. J. Lucas, wrote of him: "He was the Great Heart of our Mission, full of patience and holy enthusiasm, a man to be loved and trusted. Night and day for ten years he poured out his life to make the College what it was, a centre of Christian influence and Christian learning. This College is the memorial of the best years of the life of Arthur Ewing, years in which he wrought with tremendous energy, upheld from first to last by a holy companionship with the Lord Jesus."⁷

Governor Sir William Marris said of Ewing in 1927: "The growth of the College through those years of acute financial difficulty was due more than anything else to his energy and devotion."⁸

Professor N. C. Mukerji gave his testimony in the following words: "Dr. Ewing realized that the East was changing, and his far-sightedness was quick to anticipate the change and fit himself to it. It was his sympathy with and perfect understanding of Indian character, telling him how to act and when, that have made the College the success that it is."⁹ Part of the Mission minute runs as follows: "With unfailing wisdom, courage and zeal he pressed forward, though the Mission at no time could help him with funds. The roll of students mounting to three hundred, the establishment and equipment of the Arts course to the M.A. standard, and the Technical and Agricultural Departments, tell only a part of the story. We recall with love, not untinted with reverence, his fine gifts as an organizer, leader and teacher; his greatness and generosity of heart, his strong friendship, his untiring devotion and response to every call of the work of the Mission, till even his great physical strength broke under the strain. He gave his whole-hearted service not only to the College, but as earnestly to every part of the

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work of the Mission and the Indian Church, with a breadth of sympathy that was a source of cheer and help in every station of the Mission."¹⁰

Important dates in the history of the college:

1900. Mission's decision at Ludhiana to open a college.
1902. College founded with eight students.
1903. The 1903 hostel was built, with fifteen thousand rupees raised by Dr. Janvier.
1904. First students sat for the Intermediate Examination. The Physics laboratory was built.
1906. First students sat for the B.A. Examination. Princeton hostel was built.
1907. First students sat for the M.A. Examination (Philosophy). Engineering building was erected.
1908. Affiliation course for the B.Sc. was begun. First story of Rhea hostel was built, and several houses.
The new Board of Directors held its first meeting. The Engineering course was opened under P. M. Edwards.
1909. The main building was erected. The number of students had reached 163. A course in Biology was started, the first one in Allahabad.
1911. The Agricultural Department was opened with Professor Sam Higginbottom in charge. More building operations.
1912. Philadelphia hostel was built with funds raised by Dr. Janvier.
1913. In September Principal Arthur H. Ewing died. The name was changed to Ewing Christian College. Dr. C. A. R. Janvier arrived to assume the principalship. Tooker Hall, the assembly room, was built. The engineering department was closed from lack of students.
1916. McCormick hostel of the Agricultural Department was opened. Professors numbered 27 and students numbered 527.
1917. The dairy building was erected.
1918. Professor Prabhu Das, the science head, died. The Chemistry laboratory was dedicated to Professor Das. The Dispensary was built.
1921. Electric lights came into use on the campus.

1922. Winfield Dudgeon opened a laboratory course in Botany.

Plans were made for adjustment to the new University Act.

✓ 1923. Holland Hall (Oxford and Cambridge Hostel) near the University was purchased and taken over.

The last class of students sat for the degree examination.

The Agricultural Institute was made a separate institution.

Course was opened for the Dairy Diploma.

1927. The College celebrated its silver anniversary.

Turner Hostel was built, also the second story of the chemistry building.

1928. The tragic death in November of Principal Janvier.

1930. Dr. C. Herbert Rice assumed the principalship of the College.

✓ 1932. The B.Sc. course in Agriculture was opened.

1933. New course in Physical Education was begun.

The first college annual was issued.

The College acted as host to the Student Quadrennial Convention.

✓ 1934. Final steps were taken in the reunion of the A. A. Institute with Ewing College.

The united institution was named Allahabad Christian College.

The four units of the new institution are: Holland Hall, Ewing College, The Agricultural Institute and Jumna High School.

The first group of B.Sc. students sat for the examination.

The College was opened for female students and Mrs. W. S. Gould was appointed dean of women.¹¹

1935. The College completed its first year under the new Board of Directors.

1936. Four women students entered.

Again going back to the beginning of the college, we find this detailed account in a Brown Memorial Church pamphlet by Dr. John Timothy Stone of Baltimore:

The second year the number of students rose to thirty-five. Two buildings were purchased, one for a professor's residence and one for students' quarters. When college opened in July 1903, the lower rooms of a two-story building were under cover. This building supplied class-rooms, and was completed during the course of the college year. It is intended for the residence of students, but it met the need for classes while classes were

small. At the end of the second year twelve students appeared for the First Arts examination, of whom nine passed, an excellent result which gave the college a good position in the University. The third year the number of students reached seventy-two.¹²

Dr. Ewing, on cabled advice from J. J. Lucas, had purchased, without funds, the Middleton property on which the first two hostels were built. A Students' Home, erected by Dr. Lucas in 1889, was removed in 1903 to make room for hostels. After Ewing's death J. J. Lucas wrote Mr. John Wanamaker who was acquainted with the college from its beginning and with whom Dr. Lucas had conferred just before advising the purchase of the Middleton property. Dr. Lucas asked Mr. Wanamaker for six thousand dollars to clear off this debt and he did not ask in vain. Mrs. Charles P. Turner of Philadelphia was a very generous supporter of the college during the early years. Courses in shorthand and type-writing were offered for a few years early in the history of the college:

Dr. Ewing started the college in faith without recognition by the authorities, but by the time the first class was ready to be examined, recognition had been secured up to the Intermediate. The students who passed the Intermediate wanted to go on to study for the B.A. degree. Classes were also opened without recognition, and again recognition was secured just in time to permit the students to enter the examinations. . . . Biology was introduced in 1907. Because I was the only one who had had any biology, to me fell the lot of opening the biology department. It was later served with great distinction by Winfield Dudgeon and others.¹³

Much history is compressed into the following lines from Principal Janvier, in his statement made in 1927 at the time of the silver anniversary of the college:

Then came the dark day in September 1912 when Dr. Ewing suddenly died. It seemed almost as though God had somehow forgotten. Of course He had not. A capable man, P. M. Edwards, was on hand to take temporary charge; and another friend, the selfsame dreamer, was found willing, though in some ways most reluctant, to respond to the call of the Board of Directors. He (Janvier) came back to India conscious of possessing only two qualifications for the difficult task: an unbounded love for the College, and an abiding purpose to diverge as little as possible from Dr. Ewing's plans and methods.

The College, now renamed in honor of its late Principal, was considerably in debt and seriously undermanned in some of its departments. The next few years were years of consolidation and cautious finance, but of continued rapid growth. A large Government grant-in-aid was secured and the staff was greatly strengthened, so that in 1918, when the students numbered five hundred, there was no question that ours was one of the premier colleges of Allahabad University. Two serious crises lay just ahead. The University was changed (1921) by Government action from an affiliating to a teaching institution and Ewing College had to hand over to it all its formal B.A., B.Sc., and M.A. work, and become an Intermediate college. It looked for a while as if that would be the end of things and we would have to be simply a glorified high school. The second crisis grew out of the passage by Government of the 'Conscience Clause,' which compels institutions that accept a grant-in-aid to make Bible study optional under certain circumstances. Our Board of Directors unanimously decided to give up the grant (about thirty thousand rupees annually) rather than accept any student who was unwilling to study the Bible. The Foreign Board undertook to make good this grant, though not on an incremental basis as was the Government grant. The stand we felt compelled to take on the question of the Conscience Clause has certainly not injured us in the public esteem. There is reason to believe that it has helped us. Five years ago (1922) when the Conscience Clause was introduced, our enrolment had fallen to three hundred and seven; now without counting the university college with its one hundred and fifty, we have six hundred and thirty-one. Then we had a staff of twenty-eight, today we have forty-four.¹³

In the same pamphlet are quoted words from Governor Sir William Marris on the college's quick adjustment to the new day. "The management faced the situation with a firm resolve that, since an Intermediate College it must be, it should not lag behind any similar institution in the United Provinces. I congratulate them on their success."¹⁴ In 1912-13 the college Y.M.C.A. organization was succeeded by the Students' Christian Association.

In 1923, with funds secured in America, the college bought the strategically located C.M.S. hostel, near the University of Allahabad. This hostel and tutorial center have since been under the capable supervision of Carl D. Thompson and N. C. Mukerji. The name was changed to Holland Hall in honor of William Holland, formerly of Allahabad.

Dr. Sam Higginbottom, who became Ewing's colleague in 1903, soon got the vision of India's rural needs. After taking two years special training in Agriculture at the end of his first term, he was called upon to raise funds and develop this new line of education. This work grew by leaps and bounds and within a few years was an autonomous institution on the opposite side of the Jumna. The thrilling story of this work would fill a volume. Due to local problems and to the difficulty of administering the affairs through both the Mission and the India Council, it was decided to make the Agricultural Department a separate institution. So from 1923 till 1934 the Institute, already physically separated by the Jumna, was managed by its own board of directors. Governors and Viceroy's have shown much interest in the Institute. In 1934 Lord and Lady Willingdon visited the Institute and reported their visit in terms of the highest praise. B2 ✓

Below is given Dr. Higginbottom's own summary: ✓

The Mission sanctioned the opening of the Agricultural Department in 1908. Dr. Ewing letting his mind rove over the needs of India thought of an Engineering College which actually began during his life time. H. T. Avey started the engineering work. Both the engineering and the agricultural departments were the college's response to help overcome the narrowness of opportunity open to educated Indians. The Agricultural College sought also to relieve the distressing poverty of Indian villages. The Agricultural Institute is recognized as the *de facto* Department of Agriculture of the Allahabad University. Three batches of students have already been graduated by the Institute with the degree of B.Sc. (Ag.) granted by the Allahabad University. The Agricultural Institute was recognized by the Imperial Dairy Expert and in 1924 the first class of students to study the Imperial Dairy Diploma course was admitted and the first examination was conducted in 1925. ✓

After closing the engineering course proper in 1913, the plant continued to be used for teaching manual training, mechanics' apprentice courses and elementary surveying.¹⁵

The Board of Directors had already begun to anticipate Dr. Janvier's retirement and to cast about for his successor, when in November 1928 the whole community was shocked by the Principal's tragic and sudden death which resulted from a fall due to a defective staircase in the main college

building. The directors, under the leadership of the late W. T. Mitchell, were fortunate in calling their first choice, namely, the Rev. C. Herbert Rice, Ph.D., LL.D., who for years had served as instructor in and vice-principal of Forman College, Lahore. Dr. and Mrs. Rice returned from furlough and took up their new duties in Allahabad in September 1930.

The Mission minutes of 1932 contain the approval of "the reunion of Ewing Christian College and the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, the United College to be known as Allahabad Christian College, that the names which have become attached to the separate institutions be retained, that Sam Higginbottom represent the College as President and that C. H. Rice act as Principal." The policy in regard to the Conscience Clause described in the quotation from Dr. Janvier was changed in 1934, when voluntary Bible study was instituted and the acceptance of Government grants became the new order of the day. In 1934-35 only two students asked to be excused from daily Bible study. These two were placed in a class of Ethics. The following year (1935-36) a third student was excused, but all the others of the more than six hundred gladly attend daily Bible classes.

The College magazines are as follows:

The Allahabad Farmer.

The Ewing Christian College Magazine.

The Science Annual.

Holland Hall Magazine.

Annual reports printed separately for all four units.

Seventeen of Ewing's full time professors and teachers are Christians; two of the three at Holland Hall are Christians; nine of the twelve full time instructors at the Institute are Christians. Three of the staff of Ewing have studied abroad, and one of the Institute staff.

Dr. J. J. Lucas, the first chairman of the Board of Directors of the college, has been for years and still is (1936) the patron saint and "guardian angel" of this college. It will be the task of future historians to provide a suitable literary monument for Dr. Lucas, also for Dr. Higginbottom and Dr. Rice under whose capable and dual supervision the

united college today advances. This chapter closes with paragraphs from the college letter of November 1935, which indicate the forward-looking program:

The college is extending its influence. It seemed the irony of fate that at the very time of reductions and retrenchment the Lindsay Commission should come to the India Mission Colleges with its dictum that they must regain their primacy and prestige by means of a great advance in "Research and Extension." These would seem to be the activities of heavily endowed institutions. The college quickly realized that it is not by competition with expensive research agencies that their function is to be fulfilled; but rather in the constant endeavor to make their services available to the Church and Mission and to share their privileges with unprivileged people. This great idea has captured the minds of our colleges and we already see tangible results in many spheres of life.

Four girls have joined the college classes this year, three of them for pre-medical studies. This department represents a real movement throughout India. We anticipate a rapid yearly increase in the number of girls in the college.¹⁶

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- ¹ See *annual report of 1903-04*.
- ² *Mission annual report*.
- ³ 1926 *Educational Survey*, pp. 31 ff.
Also Makhgani Masih, 1 April 1903.
- ⁴ Pp. 122-24.
- ⁵ *Quarterly Bulletin of A. C. College*, Oct. 1912.
- ⁶ *The Christian College in India*, 1931, p. 65.
- ⁷ Memorial address.
- ⁸ *Silver anniversary pamphlet*, 1927, p. 13.
- ⁹ *College Quarterly*, 1912, pp. 10-11.
- ¹⁰ 1912 *Mission Minutes*, pp. 3-4.
- ¹¹ See *Science Annual*, 1934-35.
- ¹² Pp. 7-8.
- ¹³ *God's Care through a Quarter of a Century*, 1927, C. A. R. Janvier.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- ¹⁵ See 1913 *annual report of the station*.
- ¹⁶ *Letter by Principal Rice*, pp. 1, 3.

CHAPTER XI

MEDICAL WORK

For many years medical service had no place in our missionary program. Missionaries were usually able to obtain expert medical service, often free, for their own needs and in those days there was apparently little thought of trying to alleviate the almost universal physical suffering of India's millions. In a revised policy of the Board published in 1886 there was no mention of medical work in a list of six items. In contrast to this policy of the nineteenth century we may mention that in many of the new mission fields opened within the last twenty-five years, the first foothold was secured through the ministry of healing.

The Rev. John Newton in his jubilee history of the Punjab Mission, written in 1885, devoted five pages to the history of medical work of that Mission up till that time. Mrs. Holcomb in her history written about the same time made no mention of medical work, although she did give the names of our first two lady doctors. The first doctor, a man, began work in the Punjab Mission in 1842 while similar work was begun in our Mission in 1873 by Miss Sara Seward. The twentieth century saw the advent of a man doctor in our Mission. E. M. Wherry in his mission history written about 1924, spoke of mission medical work in the following general terms: "The conference of missionaries held in Lahore in 1862 inaugurated a Medical Mission Association which has done much to further the work of evangelization through medical service. . . . The introduction of people into the use of western remedies for various ailments, the gospel of soap and hot water, the cleanliness of the home and sanitary surroundings and many similar matters which add much to the health of the people have been brought by the missionaries."¹

Dr. Sara E. Swezey, writing in the seventy-fifth annual report stated:

Dr. Sara Seward reached Allahabad in 1871, opened a dispensary the following March and later a larger one. . . . The hospital is beautifully located in a compound with palms and much foliage in the very center of the crowded city, back some distance from our city church.²

In July 1873 an invitation was extended to Dr. Seward by our Mission, and soon she and Miss Mary Wilson, both of whom had come out under the Woman's Union Society, were made members of our Mission, the former being engaged in medical service and the latter in zenana work associated with the hospital. The work grew rapidly. Soon thirty homes of non-Christians were opened for religious teaching, due largely to the popularity of Dr. Seward and her medical program.

Dr. Seward, during her twenty years in Allahabad, never found life's path rosy. Her difficulties did not lie in professional inefficiency or in the lack of a field of service, but rather in her inability to understand the details of co-operation required in such an organization as the Mission. Contrary to the wish of the Mission Dr. Seward was returned to Allahabad after her furlough and continued her faithful service there until the time of her sudden death from cholera in June 1891. In 1888, Miss M. L. Symes had come from England to assist her. During her period of service the *Foreign Missionary Magazine* printed this tribute:

Owing to the quiet way in which Miss Seward's estimable work has been carried on, it is less known in this country than in India; but it is sufficient to say that it has won for her a high place in the regard not only of Indians, whose zenanas have been thrown open to her welcome visits, but also of scores of British residents whose testimony falls upon the ear of every traveller who visits Allahabad.³

Dr. Seward and Miss Wilson lived in what is still known as the railway bungalow near the Jumna River. In 1891 the dispensary was removed to larger quarters in Mirganj, where in 1893 the new Sara Seward Memorial Hospital was completed. An annex was added in 1904. A doctor's bungalow was also erected and in 1892 a branch dispensary was opened in Katra. A nurses' training school was maintained for some time. Miss Symes carried on for some time after Dr. Seward's death. In 1892 Miss Emma L. Templin,

M.D., was sent as the third doctor, but she was obliged to give up the work two years later on account of ill-health. It was found impossible to keep a resident physician all the time. Dr. M. R. Norris (1900-06) was in charge for a short time. She was our first missionary to receive a Kaisar-i-Hind medal from the Government. Miss Nellie Binford, M.D., served from 1907 till 1909. Again in 1911 the report tells us that there was no doctor in charge. Sara E. Swezey, M.D., carried on the work from 1911 till the time of her marriage two years later. In the 1911 report we read: "The missionary doctor treats patients at her bungalow in 3 Edmonstone Road, two hours in the afternoon in addition to the morning at the hospital." The same report speaks of five thousand new patients, nine thousand old patients and one hundred and forty-seven operations.

Finding the medical work in Allahabad increasingly difficult to maintain, the Mission in 1916 decided to close the work there and that same year sent the hospital equipment to Fatehgarh for the use of the new medical plant. When the hospital compound in Allahabad was sold most of the proceeds were used in building up the new medical work in the mass movement area around Fatehgarh. Thus ends chapter one of our medical work.

Miss P. A. Brink, M.D. (1872-74), was in Fatehgarh station for more than a year but was able to lay no permanent foundation for a hospital. In January 1892 Mrs. Andrews opened a dispensary in the Rakha Mission house, Fatehgarh, through which she rendered medical aid to the Rakha Christians and to many people of the nearby villages. In her report of that year she wrote:

The Ladies' Board has sent me a good outfit of instruments and if I were so situated that I could get to the city (Farrukhabad) there is no doubt that it (medical work) could be made largely self-supporting.⁴

It seems that as early as 1882 a call had been extended by our Mission to Dr. Anna M. Fullerton, daughter of Robert Stewart Fullerton. She began an independent medical work in Fatehgarh some time during the nineties. In 1904 she and her sister Mary built a house near the Barhpur mission compound. The report of 1907 told her story thus:

The Memorial Dispensary is in charge of Dr. Anna M. Fullerton who is not a member of the Mission, but gives her work in this dispensary which she and her sister have erected, in and for the city with which her family's name has so long been associated. The dispensary was built this year and opened in September, since which time the number of patients has steadily increased. They come and go and many spend some time in the prayer room. A trained pharmacist has been secured and others are being trained. A branch dispensary has been opened in the Barhpur mission compound for the students. The ward which contains only two beds is used as a recovery room after serious operations. Dr. Fullerton hopes that at some time the Mission may have a hospital in the station which will enable much work to be accomplished which cannot now be undertaken.⁵

Dr. Fullerton continued to dedicate her medical skill to Christ until 1910, when she left for America. In appointing Dr. Annie Young to succeed Dr. Fullerton the Mission recorded its "warm appreciation of the services she (Dr. Fullerton) has so freely rendered for years to our institutions and Christian community, and to the missionaries of our entire Mission, not to speak of the larger service rendered to the people of India."⁶

In 1903, when the Mission issued its call for seventy-five new recruits, it specified the need for nine doctors, seven men and two women. During her furlough in America Dr. Fullerton was requested to enlist more lady doctors for our growing medical work. At the same time she was asked by the Mission to solicit from American friends fifteen thousand rupees for a new hospital to be built at Fatehgarh.

When Dr. Young left the work in March 1914 there was no doctor to whom the work could be turned over. But before the close of that year Dr. Adelaide Woodard had arrived, she who holds the record in our mission for the longest term of medical service. During her administration the Fatehgarh hospital has grown from a dispensary to a general hospital for both men and women, together with tuberculosis ward, X-ray laboratory and training school for nurses. The original dispensary was removed about 1922. The main part of the hospital was erected in 1916, and dedicatory services followed in October 1917. Later the wing for female patients was added. The men's ward was

opened in 1928, the tuberculosis ward the same year. In addition to Dr. Woodard's constant exposure to all kinds of diseases, her chief burden during the years has been that of finance. The institution was established as a part of our mass movement program and as such it has never had large earnings from fees. The major part of the support has come from the First Presbyterian Church of Seattle, Washington. Dr. Woodard's services have been recognized by Government in the form of a first-class Kaisar-i-Hind medal. From time to time branch dispensaries have been run in Kaimganj, Bewar, Talgram and Kanauj.

Several doctors have been associated with Dr. Woodard but Cupid has never allowed any of them to stay very long. Dr. Woodard went on furlough in November 1934. And in February 1936 Dr. Harris resigned, leaving all the medical work in charge of Dr. M. K. Crothers and Miss Lal, an Indian doctor. The reason for Dr. Harris' resignation was the same as given above. During all these years Miss Sara McRobbie has been associated with Dr. Woodard as superintendent. Miss Janki Nath has for years been a valuable member of the medical staff. In October 1935 a committee of control was set up, whose duties are to confer on all matters relative to the general oversight of the hospital.

ETAH

The Mission minutes of 1910 contained the Mission's request for four thousand dollars for the building of a hospital in Etah. Two or three years later Miss Adeline W. Owen, then an honorary missionary in Etah, became interested in Etah's medical needs and in 1916 promised financial support for this new work. But the land for the new plant was not purchased until 1921 and the dispensary was erected the following year. This new plant (dispensary and living quarters) stands on a five acre plot just opposite the Poultry Farm and, since its opening, has been in charge of Miss A. Gwendoline Jones, R.N. The Kasganj doctor renders assistance in difficult cases. This worthy work serves not only the boys and girls of our two schools there and the local Christian community, but also brings physical relief to many people of Etah City and the surrounding

villages. Miss Owen gave this dispensary as a memorial to her mother.⁷

MEDICAL POLICY

All who accept the Scriptural program of preaching, teaching and healing for our missionary policy have been gratified with the growth of medical missions in general and those acquainted with our own work have done much to encourage the ministry of healing. The period from 1910 till 1930 witnessed the establishment of all of our present medical work. The only work which was extant in 1910 was the zenana hospital in Allahabad which was later closed. These hospitals and dispensaries, large and small, in Allahabad, Fatehgarh, Kasganj, Etah and Shikohabad represent a growth of work unparallel within our own field by any other branch of work in its celerity and extent. When one looks at the yet unmet needs this present work seems to be but a beginning; but when one takes a responsible attitude towards the personnel and the pecuniary needs for maintenance, he wonders if this development will prove to have been too rapid. At all events, the work is going on, the needs are ever increasing with India's perennial increase of population, and we can do no other than thank God for what He has given us and trust Him for the future.

In 1929 the Mission gave thanks for this "rapid growth" and decided to advocate "a continuance of approximately the present rate of development for another five years." Accordingly the same year, plans were made to enlarge the Fatehgarh Hospital to one hundred and fifty beds; to provide for the needs of Kasganj; to ask for five thousand rupees more to be spent in Etah, and to develop the Jumna Dispensaries into a hospital with two American doctors and proportionate personnel. At the same time the Mission envisioned the time when we could "have on the staff of every hospital a woman missionary as full-time evangelistic social worker."⁸ In the same year the Mission prepared and printed a sixteen page statement of the medical policy of the Mission.

From 1923 till 1933 all of our medical work was under the general supervision of the Joint Medical Com-

mittee. Since 1934 this responsibility has been committed to the General Board with the aid of one or two local boards of control.

KASGANJ

After many years of discussion it was finally decided that Kasganj should be favored with a medical plant. After eight years of persistent effort, land was secured in 1926. The Ogdens were the local missionaries and, seeing the need for medical work, succeeded in getting a gift from Mrs. A. L. Sawyer and Mrs. Mary L. Messer of Oak Park, Chicago. Mr. Ogden built the hospital in 1927 and subsequently two bungalows, a nurses' home and other necessary quarters were erected. The Mission and Medical Committee never reached a decisive opinion as to whether this new hospital should be exclusively for the service of women and children or whether it should be a general hospital.

Dr. A. R. Pittman, who began his medical service in Fategarh, was called from his very useful itinerant medical work in the Jhansi District and was appointed the first resident physician in Kasganj. He opened work in rented quarters in Kasganj City, in 1924. When the new hospital was ready for use, he closed his dispensary and took charge of the new work on the edge of the city. His resignation in 1929, due to his wife's ill-health, left this new work unprovided for. In the same year Miss Hildreth M. Caldwell came from the Punjab Mission and rendered good service until her marriage in December 1931. She was succeeded in September 1932 by Dr. Harriet Davies, who is now in charge with Dr. Eva Greenwold as her associate. During two or three intervals the hospital was under the supervision of the Fategarh doctors. This, our newest hospital, situated on a much travelled pilgrim road to the Ganges, and just on the edge of a city of twenty thousand, is filling a great need and is an important part of our rural program. The list of missionary nurses so far for Kasganj is: Miss Priscilla K. Hall, resigned; Miss Margaret Hamilton, married; and Miss Julia Murray, present incumbent.

Marion Lockwood Moore, M.D., formerly on the staff of the Fategarh Hospital, opened a dispensary in Shikohabad in 1924. Mr. and Mrs. Moore considered this work of

healing "an essential and inherent part of the Gospel presentation in district evangelism." In spite of lack of capital and with a meager sum for current expenses, Dr. Moore's expert healing hand and prayerful advice have done much to alleviate the pain of many hundreds of sufferers, both Christian and non-Christian.

Before this medical history ends, the second chapter of similar work in Allahabad must be narrated. On the invitation of the late Principal Janvier of the college, Dr. Douglas N. Forman who joined the Mission in 1919, began medical work on the college campus in a quiet and informal manner, in the college dispensary, a building erected in 1918. This work has gradually grown into what is now called the Jumna Dispensaries. Associated with Dr. Forman are Dr. Mabel S. Hayes and several local Indian doctors. The management is under a local committee of control. There is in operation a very thorough system of solicitation of local funds. Dr. Mabell Hayes, in addition to attending at her own dispensary at the A. A. Institute, gives one morning a week in the main dispensary. Students and citizens of the local community find these dispensaries a great blessing to Allahabad.

Dr. Forman does little or no surgical work. Rather he is pioneering in the matter of preventive medicine and in co-operation with his professional colleagues. This work is also unique in that it has been going on for sixteen years, but as yet no money has been spent for buildings. The opinion of Dr. E. M. Dodd is worth quoting here:

Dr. Forman's co-operative organization, with a number of volunteer Indian associates, a great step forward, its extraordinarily efficient utilization of space and facilities, its training of technicians and assistants, and its fine atmosphere, has raised dispensary work to a new high level.⁹

To sum up, we may say that during the first half century there was little or no thought of medical work; the third quarter of the century saw some beginning of work, but nothing of a permanent nature; the last quarter witnessed the very rapid growth as above described. He that "healeth all diseases" stands by to steady the surgical hand and will help us to promote this thoroughly Christian activity, until

India becomes free from quack doctors and superstitious practices.

Dr. Woodard, on extended furlough, continued in indifferent health until 1937, when on medical advice she gave up any hope of returning to the work which she held so dear. She was succeeded by Dr. Morris K. Crothers. In 1937 Miss Ruth H. Sprague, R.N., was transferred from the Punjab Mission and appointed supervisor of nurses' training.

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- ¹ Pp. 173, 329.
- ² *Report of 1911*, p. 21.
- ³ Vol. XL, 1881-82.
- ⁴ *Report of 1892*, p. 35.
- ⁵ *Report of 1907*, pp. 16-17.
- ⁶ *1910 Minutes*, p. II.
- ⁷ *Board Letter 38*, 2-17-25, p. 27.
- ⁸ *1929 Mission Minutes*, pp. 15-17.
- ⁹ *Report of the Medical Department (A.P.M.)*, 1933-34, p. 10.

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Other reports and minutes.

CHAPTER XII

THAT PART OF OUR HISTORY CALLED THE MASS MOVEMENT

THE articles and reports written on the mass movement of low caste Hindus toward Christianity would fill volumes. Dr. John R. Mott wrote that it would "be difficult to overstate the faith-kindling power of this modern apologetic." In 1933 J. W. Pickett published "a notable conspectus of the achievements, values, weaknesses and possibilities of this great human and divine enterprise." In this chapter no attempt will be made to depict any of these four phases, but an effort will be made to tell an unadorned tale of the part played in this great movement by the servants of God working within the area of our Church and Mission. Alas! Some of the leaders have had to retire from their labors, but their hearts are still much in the work.

In a brief history little space can be given to biographies. But it seems appropriate to dedicate this chapter to the Forman brothers, Henry and John, who came to India in 1884 and 1887. Henry Forman distinguished himself as a writer, preacher, teacher, missionary and linguist. He was thoroughly acquainted with every section of our field for he lived in nearly every station except Mainpuri. He began work in Etah at the opening of the century where this "faith-kindling" crusade really began. He sowed much seed in the Jhansi District. He did his part toward establishing the new movement on a firm spiritual and intellectual foundation by teaching for some time in Saharanpur Seminary. He closed his forty years of service by managing the Landour Language School and by acting for three years as Principal of the leading boys' school in Gwalior State. In 1924, at the time of his retirement, his colleagues recorded their appreciation in these words:

Henry Forman served his forty years without growing old. He still loves the company of young people, and, what is even

more significant, young people love and enjoy him. Dr. Forman was closely identified with the opening of the Mass Movement work in our Mission. He also helped to open the very promising work among the weavers in Mau Ranipur, Jhansi. It would take much time and space even to touch the high spots of Dr. Forman's character. He will continue to have a very warm place in our hearts.¹

John Newton Forman did much to promote the cause of missions among students during the early days of the Student Volunteer Movement. His five fields of activity in India were Fatehgarh, Jhansi, Etah, Saharanpur and Mainpuri and in addition he answered many calls to all parts of India. The following paragraph is taken from his memorial:

Not long after undertaking his work he became convinced of the advisability of attempting to do away with the social gulf between Indians and foreigners, and in order to reach the people in the most intimate way he surrendered his salary and his foreign mode of living and went to dwell among the people in the bazar, living in a native house and eating Indian food. The Board and the Mission cordially assented to his experiment and asked him to feel free to return to his former status at any time. After a fair and conscientious experiment with the plan Mr. Forman resumed his work and manner of life of the other missionaries, having found the exclusively Indian diet impossible from the point of view of health and vigor, and having determined also that nearness to the people is a matter of sympathy and understanding rather than of dress and mode of living. Mr. Forman's love for the people and their response, his perfect understanding of the Indian language, his untiring zeal and his evangelistic fervor, his knowledge of the Gospel and his power in its presentation, his humility, his fearlessness and the visible evidence in his life of the presence of the Holy Spirit, made him one missionary in a thousand.²

Secretary Dr. Robert E. Speer said of John Forman: "I owe to him more than to anyone else my interest in the foreign missionary work and the complete upheaval of my life plans." The Mission minute of 1918 reads, in part, as follows:

John Forman was a man of keen but kindly wit and of rare discernment. In debate he went to the root of things. His intuitions were accurate and his reasoning still more so. He was an eloquent preacher, one of tremendous and masterful earnestness. He was a man of profound conviction in regard to God's Word. . . . He brought God home to other hearts.

He was a man of God because he was a man of prayer. . . . We are better men and women for having known John Forman.³

Proceeding now with the narrative of the busy years of the ingathering we shall aim to let the records tell as complete a story as possible. Years before in 1884, Secretary Irving had asked, "Is not the time ripe for reaping?" The Board report of 1888 stated that the time would soon come when "whole castes will avow Christianity as their religion." Mrs. Holcomb at the close of her fifty years' history, hastened its coming by her prophetic hope and prayer. Hungry hearts and loyal souls felt that surely God was about ready to begin a new work in their midst. We today can articulate their deep desire by pointing to the thousands who have been "dugged from the pit" and have become "living stones" in the Church of Christ. The India-wide revival of 1905 came in the midst of this very intensive and active period of evangelization.

A brief review is found in the Mission's report of 1909:

The work of the Mission moved quietly and gradually forward for seventy years. New stations were opened as opportunity offered, and solid foundations were laid. Then came a period of remarkable growth which is shown in the following statistics. Both educational and evangelistic work have sprung forward rapidly. The evangelistic methods of a large part of the Mission have been, within the present decade (1900-10), completely revolutionized by the necessity forced upon us by an extensive mass movement in our midst. The following figures measure the growth by five-year periods:

	Mission- aries	Preachers and Teachers	Churches	Members	Baptisms	Theol. Students
1893	30	68	9	489	843	4
1898	38	75	10	490	1,100	10
1903	48	188	13	701	3,187	30
1908	39	330	45	1,897	15,329	58

From the above table it is evident that ten years ago (1899) there was nothing that could be designated as a mass movement. From 1893 to 1898 there was but a very moderate growth. Then began a flood of interest which has not yet exhausted itself. From 1903 till 1908,

Missionaries decreased by	20%
Indian agents increased by	80%

Church members increased by	170%
Baptized community increased by	380%
Contributions (Rs. 2,285; Rs. 6,324) by	175%
American grant for evangelistic work by	5%

So far as the attitude of the people of the mass movement is concerned, it seems quite within the range of possibility to maintain this rapid rate of increase. A mass movement among the Chamars similar to that among the sweepers has begun and will become an overwhelming flood. They compose one-eighth of the population and but one in a thousand of them can read. In reply to the Board's inquiry the Mission expressed its confidence in its ability to raise up and train a force of thirteen hundred Indian agents within twenty years. During the past five years the Mission has done better than it promised, but, without much larger support, it cannot continue this rapid preparation of the evangelistic force.⁴

The writers of the same report explained the beginning of the movement in Etawah:

In the year 1898 an urgent request for religious instruction came from some village sweepers. This was responded to and in a few months twenty-five or thirty were baptized. This community being small and scattered, the movement did not become general at the time. For years it made little progress, but recently hundreds have been brought into the fold of Christ.⁵

Again, this report narrates the beginning of this work in Etah:

In the summer of 1898 Henry Forman discovered among the sweepers of one section a very unusual and favorable attitude towards Christianity. This was the fruit of two causes: the perennial preaching of the Word, and a wide-spread movement which to the North and East was sweeping thousands of that caste into the fold of Christ. Within one year Mr. Forman baptized four hundred and sixty-seven. Ten years ago (1898) Etah had no mission property. Now it has a school-church building, two boarding schools, two missionary residences, training-school quarters for thirty-five families and a recitation pavilion.

A further picture of those busy days is given by J. H. Lawrence in some of his letters from 1902 till 1906:

We have just had our summer Bible School in Fatehgarh. They came from all our stations, about ninety coming all the way from Etah. In three stations many sweepers are asking for baptism. Four hundred people in Etah are waiting for baptism. . . . Fifty young men and their wives are in three training

schools. This new movement is a coming up from slavery. . . . This year's ten days' Bible School in Etah was a revival. Many truly repented of their sins. Over three hundred were in attendance. Strong characters are being developed in several villages. . . . About one hundred and thirty were baptized and others wished to be. Two new village churches have just been organized. About a month ago at a first communion service the new members sat very quietly and attentively. . . . Before our special meetings we organized prayer bands. The revival spirit is spreading. We are all working in great hope.⁶

From 1880 till 1930 forty-one men did the baptizing in Etah. The maximum ingathering took place in Etah in 1908-09 when six thousand forsook their idols and became followers of Christ.⁷ The following is from A. G. McGaw's report of 1908:

The development of the Chamar work has claimed a considerable amount of my time this year. We have been dealing with the leaders among the Chamars. They are inclined to give up their old religion and accept the new. To some extent they have done so. Several of them were converted ten years ago. The Etah community of Chamars is already Christian in many of its ideas. The leaders wish to secure the conversion of their whole community of about one hundred and fourteen thousand. Hence we are faced with the possibility of another mass movement.⁸

The Mission, in its effort to take this flood at its tide, called a special meeting in Fatehgarh in February 1903. In a long statement the field was surveyed and a call was issued for seventy-five new missionaries, thirty-nine men (plus wives) and thirty-six women, of whom seven of the men and two of the women were to be doctors. By way of explaining the request for so many it was stated that the situation called for large things. At the same time a call was prepared to be sent to the Indian Church, "to join with us in special prayer and effort that many more workers may be raised up in India." This appeal was reiterated the following year. Again, in 1908, a fresh appeal, "loud and urgent," for reinforcement, was sent to America. This last appeal read in part:

There is a great mass movement towards Christianity. With our present force we are unable to overtake this work. Many thousands could be baptized if there were missionaries and workers to teach them. Hindu leaders are agitated by the im-

mense significance of this movement. This critical time is a challenge to the Church.⁹

The Mission's report for 1906-07, edited by Henry Forman, contains a seven page description of the many activities then being carried on. Below are given quotations from each of the six sections of this splendid article:

1. Baptisms and the Christian Community.—About two thousand persons have been baptized during the past year in Fatehgarh, Etah and Etawah, over half of these being in Fatehgarh. Our Christian community now numbers: Fatehgarh, 4,700; Etah, 3,500; Mainpuri, 1,700; Etawah, 750; Jhansi, 350. We are but at the beginning of this great movement, a movement in which caste ties are being transformed into a principal means for the spread of the kingdom.
2. Pastoral and School Work.—The distinction is in the nature of the work, not in the person of the worker. Meetings morning, noon and night, doctoring the sick, examining schools, looking after Christian Endeavour Societies, Church services and Sunday Schools, these and other duties keep us busy from 4 a.m. till about eleven at night (Report of Dr. and Mrs. C. H. Bandy).
3. Special Services in Villages and Conferences in Central Stations.—In Etah sixteen representative men attended such a conference in June while at the September conference seventy were present. In these meetings the strong help the weak. Testimony regarding Sabbath observance and temperance was very gratifying. New standards are being adopted because of an awakened conscience.
4. The Churches and Spiritual Growth.—There are twenty-four organized churches and many more groups that gather regularly for worship. There is a great need for village church buildings. Old customs die slowly. Many are beginning to believe in the efficacy of prayer and to have a vision of the Christian brotherhood. Public and family prayers have become quite general. Revival services have been held in several places. Zeal for the conversion of friends follows the forsaking of old sins.
5. The Central Training School in Mainpuri.—Buildings and scholarships have been provided, through W. T. Mitchell's efforts, by friends in America. Twenty-four new houses for students and two houses for

teachers have been erected this past year. John N. Forman is in charge. On 1 July 1907 the new era dawned and in a few days the place was alive with men and women, boys and girls. The fifty-four men were divided into four classes. The twenty-nine wives are also being taught. The fourth class is the strongest and has made rapid progress, mainly under the teaching of Rev. Sukh Lal.

6. Village Schools and Training Schools for Teachers.—Of the sixty village schools, three-fourths are in Farukhabad District. These have a total attendance of one thousand, about one-fourth of whom are girls. Though the teachers are not highly equipped they can be highly useful. In the training schools men and women are taught for one or two years, after which they go to the General Training School.

Six more pages of this report are devoted to reporting the efforts among Hindus and Muslims, not only in the mass movement area but also in Fatehpur and Allahabad; and to work being done by women on behalf of women and children among all classes. This report revealed a happy, busy band of workers whose morale was tinged with hilarious enthusiasm. But better things were yet to come for the Board report of 1910 ends with these words: "The year just closed has perhaps been the best in the Mission's history."

From Mr. McGaw's notes we find that the standards for elders in Etah District were as follows:

1. Must be a Christian free from idolatry.
2. Must bear a good name in his neighborhood.
3. Must be the husband of not more than one wife.
4. Must be temperate.
5. Must be a stewardship worker.
6. Must have enthusiasm for getting folks together for worship.

The McGaws' weekly schedule of work for 1917-18 ran thus:

- First day in new camp-conference with local workers.
- Second, third and fourth days—village itineration.
- Fifth day—community gathering at camp.
- Sixth day—closing workers' conference.
- Seventh day—moving camp.

<i>Baptisms by Stations</i>					
	Etah	Mainpuri	Etawah	Farrukhabad	Jhansi
1901	465			129	
1902	20				
1903	300	79			
1904					
1905		17		361	
1906	190			689	45
1907		987		1,000	112
1908	102	119	624	1,218	200
1909	1,161	143		679	
1910					
1911		359			
1912				203	
1913			111		
1914	497		95	260	
1915	253		90	415	
1916	232			500	

<i>Total number of Baptisms</i>					
1903	950				
1907	1,562	1,400			
1909	4,652	2,000			
1910				5,577	
1911	5,000	2,300			

The figures in the second table were taken from annual reports and are not additions of the figures in the first table. From the historian's point of view the blank spaces tell as much about the organization as do the digits. They do not mean that no baptisms occurred in those years but that proper records were not made, or were later lost.¹⁰

In the 1914 Minutes is an interesting statement prepared by Ray C. Smith, the gist of which is as follows: The figures of that year gave much cause for encouragement not only because of increases but also because of more careful counting. For the first time the effort had been made to divide the baptized people into adults and children. The total baptisms for that year were 1,200. Mention is made of transfers due to the adjustments with the C.M.S. and with the Methodists. An effort had been made to get figures on church attendance. About one-seventh of the people seemed to attend church, and about one-fifth were in Sunday School classes. About 2,700 children were reading, this number being about one-third of the total. Seven hundred

and twenty-two children were reading in Farrukhabad District. In the offerings they suffered "the first slump in many years." In 1908 the average offering per communicant for the year was three rupees, and for each nine and one-half rupees paid by the Mission in salaries to Christians, they gave one rupee in offerings. By 1913 the average offering per year per communicant had fallen to two rupees, annas twelve, while it required sixteen and one-half rupees to raise one rupee of offering.

"The weak place seems to be in the lack of liberality among our best paid employees. . . . The remedy is the securing of pastors for all our churches. . . . Nothing seems to inspire the imagination of self-respecting Indian people so much as the idea of a self-supporting pastor" (pp. 60-61).

Churches and Schools

	Ordained Indians	Churches	Com- muni- cants	Baptized Adherents	Teachers	Pupils	Schools
1908	19					2,978	
1909	17	43					
1910	26	57	2,248			3,847	
1911	23	24	2,558			3,960	121
1912	23	23	2,465		385	4,000	99
1913	24	19	2,594		355	3,759	107
1914	25	19	2,567		405	4,116	102
1915	24	19	2,938		427	4,855	140
1916			4,199	40,000			
1917			4,869	45,610			
1918			5,580	33,562			

J. H. Lawrence summarized the period in these words:

Baptism was given after teaching. From 1905 on, churches were being organized. The Lord's Supper was frequently held. Teaching reading was emphasized. Self-support was pushed. Christian weddings and Christian celebrations were increasing. Witness-bearing was in the foreground. Ten-day meetings made prominent the spiritual side of our work. The slump came when the spiritual fervor was lost.¹¹

The long-standing and vexatious question of division of territory between our Mission and that of the American Methodists was amicably settled at a conference held in Cawnpore in April 1913:

It was decided that Cawnpore District, Jalaun District and Moth in Jhansi District should be regarded as Methodist territory; and that Jhansi District (except Moth) be regarded as Presbyterian territory; and that the Presbyterian work in Cawnpore District be confined to the city of Cawnpore; that Etah, Farrukhabad and Mainpuri be regarded as Presbyterian territory and that the Methodists would withdraw all of their workers from Etah, Mainpuri and Farrukhabad before 1 July 1913; that a committee of R. Clancy and W. T. Mitchell be appointed to appraise and adjust property.¹²

The following comment on the above decision is taken from the *Etah News Bulletin* for July 1913:

Owing to the large and efficient staff our Mission has in the three districts of Etah, Farrukhabad and Mainpuri, the Methodists agreed to give over solidly the whole of this territory to us, and to remove all their workers, which number one American missionary and over a hundred Indian workers, by 1 July. It was a work of great grace on their part for it meant the giving up of much work that was very dear to their hearts. Our Mission promised in this transfer to receive between ten and thirteen thousand Methodist-baptized Christians as our own and to care for them with God's help to the best of our ability.¹³

Mention has already been made of training schools. Early in the nineties the first one was opened in Fatehgarh. Within a year or two after becoming a station, Etah had a large training school. Mainpuri did not lag behind in this work. In 1905 similar classes were opened in Etawah and Jhansi. When in 1907 the Central Training School was established in Mainpuri the other schools were reduced and subsequently closed. The Central Training School was for some time in charge of John Forman. Since 1918 it has been managed by Dr. and Mrs. J. H. Lawrence. Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence both teach and for his own and other schools Dr. Lawrence has prepared a number of easy readers and other booklets. The Educational Survey of 1933 contains the following comment on this school:

This institution makes a distinctive contribution. . . . We have no criticism to offer but only praise and commendation of the splendid piece of work Dr. and Mrs. Lawrence are doing.¹⁴

The *Etah News Bulletin* was a quarterly published in English, which ran from October 1910 till some time in 1913. This paper was the vehicle of conveying fresh news

to the friends in America. Its columns carried many personal stories of the work. For years there were summer schools, usually one for the whole area. These partook of the nature of a Bible Institute for two or three weeks. In 1914 in Kasganj a new type of summer school was begun in which boys were enrolled with the object of teaching them to read as quickly as possible and with the idea also of choosing the better pupils for the boarding schools. Recently, summer school for girls have also been opened. Large gatherings were the order of the day in many places. In 1917 the attendance at the Aliganj (Etah) meeting was over seven hundred.

To encourage reading, a monthly Roman Urdu paper called *Taraqqi* (Progress) was started in 1914. This later grew into a paper in Hindi called the *Dehati* (Rusticus) and today is serving a very useful purpose under the editorship of Rev. Janki Prasad of Bewar. The *Makhzan-i-Masihi* (1868-1926) (Christian Treasury), a bi-weekly diglot and much older paper (now discontinued) for years devoted a part of its columns to the cause of village church work in our mass movement area. Village teaching in many places was, and in some places still is, on a contract basis; that is, a teacher is paid a certain amount for every pupil who learns to read certain prescribed books under his or her instruction.

A handicap to the permanency of our village work has been the temporary nature of a part of the financial support. During the early years of the movement the newness of the work aroused a keen interest which resulted in an annually increasing budget. When that peak was passed the World War came on and again money was plentiful. After the War several phases of work depended for years on the Blackstone Funds, money from the estate of Mr. Milton Stewart and his brother. Since 1929, funds from the Harkness Estate have made possible the continuation of work that otherwise would have had to be closed. To be sure, the work is a venture of faith, but the perennial anxiety over the provision of funds for each succeeding year has undoubtedly had a hampering effect on the forward look of the leaders.

There are at least two divisions of the Sweeper caste in our Mission field. Our Christian mass movement has

been in that division of the sweepers known as the Lal Begis. The great proportion of the sweepers living east of Cawnpore in the Fatehpur and Allahabad Districts are Hela sweepers, among whom there has as yet been no movement towards Christianity either in our field or in the fields of other missions.

In the Forward Looking Program prepared in 1930 we read that today there are twenty-five thousand Christians in our mission-church area. After setting forth our religious responsibility towards two million, seven hundred thousand Hindus, three hundred and sixty thousand Muslims and nine hundred and fifty thousand outcastes, because of "superstition and the social and economic degradation of large sections," it goes on to state that:

The second responsibility of the Mission is toward those who have become disciples, to gather them into Christian churches which shall be self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing; to co-operate, as long as necessary, with these churches in the evangelizing of their countrymen, and in bringing to bear on all human life the spirit and principles of Christ. . . . More than twenty-five thousand of these people have been baptized and call themselves Christian. Who can tell what it was that drew them. That the hope of the "loaves and fishes" played some part in it none would deny. Probably in almost all cases they came with mixed motives. But it is certainly just as true that the movement represented a definite though perhaps incoherent spiritual longing, for which they expected to find satisfaction in Christianity.¹⁵

Janki Prasad who after years of faithful service knows the work thoroughly from the inside, spoke in part as follows, in his summary of this great spiritual movement:

In Etah the Forman brothers, the McGaws, the Moores and the Lawrences labored for years under the power of God and brought thousands into the Christian fold. In Farrukhbad, Dr. and Mrs. C. H. Bandy, travelling on bicycles, on horse-back, or in wheeled vehicles and working twelve months of the year, shook the whole district. The missionary wives accompanied their husbands day and night and were always ready for any Christian service.

The work grew in spite of the opposition of landlords and no secular power could stop flock after flock from receiving baptism. There are several reasons for the gradual recession of the work in all areas. A. W. Moore enumerates the following:

- (1) The goal of the work was the Mission, not the Church.
- (2) We were unable to sustain the work, much less to take care of the growing needs.
- (3) Many of the younger missionaries were greatly discouraged when they observed several obvious weaknesses of the work.
- (4) Reductions in the annual grant severely reduced the number of teachers and preachers.

There are other reasons as well. But the success and fruit of this movement cannot be adequately depicted. I remember W. T. Mitchell's remark to the effect that the surprising thing was not that so many baptized people had turned out failures; but that so many have been developed into true Christians.¹⁶

The chapter ends here but the story is incomplete. To-day on account of political movements and Dr. Ambedkar's efforts on behalf of his fellow Harijan brothers, the atmosphere is charged with the proper ingredients to produce such a mass movement of outcaste Hindus into Christianity as would make the story of yesterday shrink into a mere beginning. God our Creator is busier today than He ever was before. Let us co-operate with Him in our work for Christ and the Church.

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- ¹ 1924 *Minutes*, p. 17.
- ² *Memorial Booklet*, pp. 3-4.
- ³ Page 12.
- ⁴ 1909 *Report*, pp. 1-3.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- ⁶ 1935 *General Board Minutes*, Appendix A.
- ⁷ *Gleams of Glory*, 1919.
- ⁸ *Personal Report*.
- ⁹ *Minutes of 1908*, pp. 37, 38.
- ¹⁰ See *Forward Movement Committee's Report*, 1907.
Table on page 11.
- ¹¹ 1935 *General Board Minutes*, Appendix A, pp. 59 ff.
- ¹² Six page pamphlet, 1913.
- ¹³ See also *Mission Minutes*, 1913: pp. 15-16; 1917: pp. 12, 17.
- ¹⁴ Part III, p. 34.
- ¹⁵ *Mission Minutes*, 1930, Appendix F, pp. 34-36.
- ¹⁶ *Ghaziabad Conference Report*, August 1936.

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Reports and special publications.

Christian Mass Movements in India, 1933, J. WASKOM PICKETT.

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Article by A. G. MCGAW in *Year-Book of Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon*, 1912.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NOBLE WORK OF OUR "DEVOUT AND HONORABLE WOMEN"

IN the early days Secretary John C. Lowrie fought many battles for the women missionaries, acting as protagonist for the rights of the married women and endeavoring to open up a wider field of service for all the women. Once he complained when the names of the wives were omitted from the annual roll. When the custom of showing all Board correspondence was slowly being established he was wont to write: "Be sure to forward this to the ladies." The new Manual rule of 1878 was evidently not very welcome in India, for some time later Mr. Lowrie wrote, "Now, dear brethren, why cannot the ladies enjoy these privileges?"

Scarcely a chapter so far has omitted to mention the "labors abundant" of the married women in our Mission. During the early decades the government, to be sure, was on the shoulders of the men, but not so all of the actual work. Much remains to be said of the noble lives of the wives, but the present chapter deals chiefly with the work of the single lady missionaries whose Christian endeavors merit a whole book. Dr. J. J. Lucas, without whose help this record could not have been written, advised that in this chapter the writer put the "brightest halos over the heads of our women missionaries, married and single."

Mrs. Joseph Warren, who came with her husband to India in 1872 and who helped to open work in Gwalior in 1874, was, after Dr. Warren's death in March 1877, known as Mary Warren of Gwalior. When plans were laid for the beginning of work in the native state, the Mission had not the remotest thought of allowing a woman to labor there single-handed. But when she found herself alone and when tentative plans for her transfer did not materialize, she stayed on year after year and soon became so devoted to the local people, especially the women and children, that she rejected

all thought of transfer and spent in all twenty-nine years for Christ in India, and her mortal remains found a resting place beside her husband in Morar cemetery, Gwalior.

But she was not always alone. Miss Elizabeth Walsh spent six months with her in 1878. Later she adopted an Indian boy who made his home with her until he reached manhood. Her letters are very human documents. In 1891 she wrote:

Ever since I have been alone I have done a great deal of defending. I have been before the General Commanding the station, I have been before the Magistrate, I have been before the station staff doctor, I have been before Rev. — of St. John's College. It seems to me that all this is not a woman's work. (Just what that may mean.) But I have done it heartily and I am glad I have, and God has honored me by letting me do all the things that would have been overpowering without Him." (*sic*)¹

The following lines are from J. J. Lucas' sketch of her life:

When Dr. Warren died Mrs. Warren did not leave. She had gained access to the palace of the Maharajah. Madho Maharajah (died 1925) was then a child and learned to trust and love her, calling her mother, so that when he came to rule he honored her in many ways. A trooper from the palace, morning and evening, presented himself at her house to ask after her safety and to report to the Maharajah. In times of famine funds were entrusted to her by him for the relief of suffering women and children, and when she died he provided a carriage drawn by four horses to carry her body to the grave, and himself followed as a mourner. He had a tombstone put over her grave and requested that mention be made that it was put up by him as a mark of his personal esteem. A church building Mrs. Warren began was unfinished at her death. His Highness asked what it would cost to complete it, and when told fifteen hundred rupees, he sent that amount.²

The Forman sisters, Mary P. and Emily N., were the daughters of the Rev. Charles W. Forman of Punjab fame, who was the first American missionary to reach Lahore. They were sisters of the two brothers already mentioned. Miss Mary Forman (1887-1935) began her missionary career in Fatehgarh. Her early reports indicate her keenness and ability. She was twice also in charge of the Wanamaker School, Allahabad, and twice also in charge of the girls'

school in Etah. Her heart was with the village women and girls, so in 1922, at her request, she was transferred from Allahabad to Etah where she was rendering most acceptable service at the time of her retirement in 1935. The Mission, at its 1935 annual meeting, recorded its esteem of Miss Forman in these words:

We, the members of the North India Mission, hereby record our love for and appreciation of Miss Mary P. Forman as a personal friend and fellow-worker, and our thankfulness for her faithful, self-denying Christian service in our Mission throughout a period of forty-eight years. She is the last retiring missionary of our Board who was in service before Dr. Speer's appointment in 1891. Miss Forman's charm of personality and sweetness of Christian spirit will long be an abiding influence over us. We cordially wish her physical comfort and continued blessings in Christ's service.³

Among eighty-eight single lady missionaries hers is the longest term.

Miss Emily N. Forman (1895-1931) gave her first three years of service in the Punjab Mission. She was stationed in Rakha, Fatehgarh to have charge of what was then called a girls' orphanage. The years 1900-7 she spent in zenana work in Etawah. In 1907 she was again sent to Rakha to be principal of the institution. She found there a poorly equipped orphanage and left a well equipped modern school and hostels. During her last long illness in Kentucky she was lovingly cared for by her sister Mary. The memorial minute states, in part, that,

In her passing we have lost a wise counsellor and friend, and Rakha School has lost a Principal during whose period of service the school has made more progress, both material, educational and spiritual than during any like period in the past sixty years. The impress she left there will last as long as the school endures, and hundreds of women and girls in villages and cities of our Mission and beyond will mourn her passing as that of one of the best friends they ever knew.⁴

The New York Board records contain the following statement of her life and work: "Without ostentation or advertisement, with humility and gentleness and with child-like simplicity and faithfulness, she carried out her missionary duty and fulfilled her task."

The record of the century for continuous service in one station was made by Miss Christine Belz who did zenana work in Etawah and nearby villages from 1872 until her death in 1902. The Etawah bungalow for women was erected by J. F. Ullman with funds given by the women's society of Philadelphia. This was Miss Belz's home in Etawah. This fine work was later carried on by Miss Emily Forman, Miss Mary Johnson and others, but in recent years the bungalow has been used for other purposes. The tribute of Miss Belz's colleagues is found in the 1903 minutes:

In a manner peculiar to herself she daily went forth to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation to the people of Etawah City and District. She was widely known and respected and the great day alone can reveal the result of her efforts.⁵

Her only letter in the archives is dated October 1885. It was accompanied by a doctor's certificate and was a request for leave. To quote:

I have been very ill and consequently ask leave to go home to my native country, Germany, for a change. I have been in this country nearly twenty-two years and have never been home. I wish to leave in March 1886 and hope to return in November.

Miss Mary Johnson wrote of her work:

She had won the respect of high and low and some of her English friends were untiring in their devotion to her during her last illness. . . . After her death I took charge of her two zenana teachers, Hindu widows, whose pupils had increased even during her illness—a fact which she wished the ladies at home to know. They have forty pupils each and my Christian teacher has forty-five.⁶

In 1860 the salary of single lady missionaries was raised from forty-three rupees to forty-four per month. Subsequently it was raised to fifty, then to sixty and further increases followed. The decade of 1870-80 seems to have been the period of beginnings and rapid growth of girls' schools and of zenana work.

Almost from the beginning of work in 1843 much effort was spent on the needs of women and girls in Mainpuri. This good start made by the married women has already been referred to. The Louisa Lowrie Home for single lady missionaries was built in Mainpuri in 1873 with gifts provided by the Presbyterian ladies of Pittsburgh. The

first occupants of this new home were a married couple, the Alexanders. The first "approved" occupant was Miss Margaret Hardie, sent by the society which had built the home, who worked in Mainpuri from 1874 till ill-health stopped her two years later. Before long we find that this new home was a busy beehive with no less than three residents, namely, Sara C. S. Hutchinson, Francis Perley and Elizabeth Walsh. In 1885 Miss Hutchinson found herself facing a difficulty about the cost of the furniture. She wrote:

In regard to the furniture in the Louisa Lowrie Home the case is this. When we three ladies furnished the house, we were unwise enough to buy most of it together, each paying for a third of each article. In course of time both the other ladies left the house and the Mission, and their share of the furniture remained as Mission property.

When Miss Hutchinson returned to Mainpuri as Mrs. H. M. Andrews she was either reimbursed for her loss or became reconciled to it, we do not know which.

A long letter from the women's society written about 1885 indicated that the new era of women's work was not going smoothly. These new houses were not always occupied by those for whom they were originally intended. The men managers of affairs, at every crisis, seemed to place the women's work first on the list of possible retrenchment items. The American women's request was this, that as long as recruits and funds were available for the work, no women's work should be closed.

For some years a part of the Louisa Lowrie Home was occupied by Dr. W. F. Johnson and Miss Mary, he engaged in literary work and she in language school and zenana work. Miss M. Annette Dennis holds the record for continued residence in this home. In 1919 she was transferred from Allahabad to do district work, but later turned to zenana and school work and has built up and carries on the most effective women's work that Mainpuri ever had. In 1930 Miss Dennis wrote of teaching in the homes of eleven lawyers, twenty-three Government employees and thirty-five others. She also mentioned a new feature, a circulating vernacular library of over six hundred volumes in Hindi, Urdu, etc., which were being used by eighty-four members.⁷

In Rakha girls' school the spiritual and educational progress under Miss Forman were steady and perennial, while the material progress came chiefly in the post-war period. In 1923, using a Government grant of Rs. 19,000 and a gift called the Rogan fund, Mr. George Dunbar built a dining room, a dormitory, latrines and three kitchens. The following year, under Mr. Dunbar's supervision, a new school building and assembly hall were erected. Rakha is now the best equipped in buildings of all of our girls' schools. Since 1929 Miss Mary Lovett has had the management of the school. For years all the girls who appeared for the sixth class examination passed and not infrequently one of them stood first in the United Provinces. More recently less emphasis has been put upon a strictly scholastic record and more attention is being given to the all round preparation of the girls for meeting life's problems.

In Farrukhabad City educational work for non-Christian girls has been maintained almost continuously since about 1870. The many small schools of former days were united into one central school about 1900. Since 1914 the school has been quartered in the building formerly used for the boys' high school. In 1923, with funds provided by the Women's Board, a bungalow for the manager of this school was built on the compound at Barhpur, on newly acquired land between the hospital and the industrial school. Miss Bessie J. Byerly has for several years been in charge of this school and has raised it, first to vernacular sixth class, and later (1935), to eighth class.

The Etah girls' school was opened soon after Etah was made a station and goes by the name of Prentiss School for Girls in honor of Elizabeth Prentiss, the first manager. 1906 saw the school in a proper building while the bungalow was not erected until ten years later. This primary school has had as its function to provide a literary training for village girls in order that they might be able to read the Bible and sing and be intelligent in religious matters. In the early days no attempt was made to prepare them for teaching or for higher study, but every effort was made to prepare them to become good home-makers in their villages. The greatest need just now is a new class-room building. Miss Mary

Forman, who had done so much for girls through this school, retired in May 1935. At present the school is in charge of Miss Margaret J. VandeBunt. Miss Elizabeth D. Galbreath lives in the same house and for years she and her colleagues have done a worthy work for the girls and women of Etah city and villages. Miss Galbreath formerly had charge of a widows' home and at present supervises a primary day school for boys and girls.

The Tahsil Plan, adopted after the World War, was mentioned in the section on Shikohabad. Kaimganj Township (Tahsil) of Farrukhabad District was also developed along this new line. Kaimganj people had heard the Good News rather early in the history of our work. For years a rest house in Kaimganj town served as the headquarters for J. J. Lucas, John Forman, C. A. R. Janvier and others who toured in that field. In 1915 this house was altered and made into a home for Miss Harriet M. Lockrow who thus became the first resident missionary in Kaimganj. Sara McRobbie and Louisa Lee both worked with Miss Lockrow, the former for about one year, the latter for a longer period. Miss Lockrow, after two seasons of service in Mainpuri and furlough in America, was again stationed in Kaimganj in 1922. With the purpose of putting the Kaimganj work on a permanent basis about thirty-two thousand rupees were allocated to this station from the Easter offering of 1922 from the American Presbyterian Sunday Schools.

In 1925 fifty-one hundred rupees of this gift were spent in the purchase of four acres of land near the railway station. On this new site a bungalow and church building were erected in 1926-27. At present writing Harriet M. Lockrow and Edith M. Imhoff, who joined her there in 1924, are (with Indian colleagues) carrying on the most thorough and intensive evangelistic work for men, women and children that has ever been done within the bounds of our Mission-church area. Although no formal action has ever been taken in the matter, Kaimganj (also Shikohabad) is considered a Mission station in the usual meaning of that term.

Special mention needs to be made of the summer school and of the Easter offerings. The Kaimganj summer school runs for ten weeks, is held in the new school-house built

in 1933, and consists chiefly of a literary course with special emphasis on Bible training. Promising boys and girls are sent on to boarding schools from this school. Adults are also taught. The Easter offering is given at harvest time and consists of from four to eight ahnas (eight to fifteen cents) per family, given when the missionaries make the rounds. Because of the scattered condition of the one thousand Christians and due to its dependence on the missionary's visit, the Easter offering is received from less than half of the families. The goal of Kaimganj is that eventually this annual offering may become a free will gift from all the local Christians, thus making it an annual thankoffering commemorating the gift of the American children to Kaimganj in 1922. Up to date the largest Easter offering totalled fifty rupees.

Reference to the women's training department of the Mainpuri Central Training School can best be made in the words of the report of the 1933 educational survey committee, thus:

This seemed to the committee to be one of the best pieces of work in the Mission. We have no criticism to offer; but wish to commend warmly the excellent training, religious and practical, which is given here to village wives and mothers in home-making and care of children as well as in the study of the Bible. The delightful Kindergarten is an object-lesson to those mothers in the upbringing of their own children.⁸

The next paragraph is copied from the educational survey of 1926 and tells about similar work in Jhansi:

In Jhansi, Mrs. J. F. Holcomb (Jhansi 1886-1905), a woman of many gifts and broad sympathies, lived and labored for many years for the girls and women of that city. She maintained a school for Bengali girls in the Mission compound, conveyances being provided to bring the girls to the compound at considerable expense to the Mission. In 1911, after the Holcombs' return to America, the present school in the city, open to girls from all communities, was started, a very worthy memorial of Mrs. Holcomb's work in Jhansi. Shortly afterwards Miss B. M. Lawton was placed in charge of the work, and it is due to her devotion, enthusiasm and untiring energy that the school has been raised to its present state of efficiency.⁹

Miss Mary Fullerton seems to have been the first single lady to work in Jhansi. Miss Lawton, who was transferred

from Farrukhabad to Jhansi in 1911, furnished the following account of her work in Jhansi:

The school I found was of an entirely different type, and was conducted in an old house near the Church. Pupils were not reading in classes but individually. I set to work to organize and build up the school class-wise just as I had done in the city girls' school in Farrukhabad, and in 1913 began the construction of the present building. On 1 July 1914 we moved into the new building, adjacent to our city church. I obtained a Government grant, also a Municipal grant and after three years we were reorganized as a middle school. At the same time I supervised Miss Tresham's work in the city and two Indian Bible-women who taught in the zenana homes of Sipri Bazar. I also had a primary school of fifty to sixty pupils in the Jhansi main bazar. From 1911 till 1917 I lived first in one and then in a second rented house. In 1917 I moved into the new bungalow for single ladies.¹⁰

Miss Lawton continued her good work as above mentioned until the time of her resignation in November 1926, when she was succeeded by Miss Byerly who turned the school over to Miss Blanche Sample in July 1927. Owing to shortage of funds and a paucity of missionaries, the General Board ordered the Jhansi girls' school to be closed and this was done at the close of the year in May 1935. At present writing Miss Fish and Miss Sample are engaged in zenana work in Jhansi City and in Ranipur field across the Betwa River.

The half has not yet been told of the brave and useful acts of these modern apostles. However, more will be narrated in the following chapter where mention is made of Saharanpur, Lucknow and other places. In 1880 Mary Warren wrote on the margin of a Board letter that she wished they would "send one hundred single ladies to India." The number has not yet reached one hundred, but it will have reached that figure long before the next history is written.

The writers of the Forward Looking Program of 1930 gave two pages to the presentation of women's work, quotations from which appear below:

It is impossible to recount all that has been done when much of the work has been as quiet as leaven, and among women the majority of whose lives are closed books. Work among

women, both Christian and non-Christian, was commenced in 1837, when a boarding school was established in Allahabad. From that small beginning work among women and girls has increased with the years until now (1930) we have eleven stations with fifty-one women missionaries, twenty-three of whom are single women giving full time service in two hospitals, six girls' schools and three large districts, while two are engaged in city evangelistic work. The married women missionaries are serving in the work of district and city with their husbands. . . . A work has been done that has never been recorded; but not half as great as needs to be done. There are no bounds to the field of service for women in India. India's women need Christ and the sympathy and love of other women who have found Him. The need is for more consecrated women, both Indian and European, to give India's women the best they have.¹¹

Out of the total of eighty-eight single lady missionaries, fifteen have been doctors and six have been registered nurses. Twenty of the eighty-eight married after becoming missionaries while thirty-three of them resigned. Six of the married ones are still serving in one or the other of our three India Missions. The average of the sixty-seven not now in services was seven and one-half years. The average of the twenty-one now in service (up till 1936) is fifteen years. The average of the fifteen doctors, not counting the years after marriage, is six years. Miss Mary Forman's term was the longest, forty-eight years. Miss Chrisine Belz's term in one station was the longest, thirty years in Etawah. The record for medical service goes to Dr. A. Woodard, twenty-two years, 1914-36.

¹ See archives.

² *Yes, God is with us in India*, 1906, pp. 15-16.

³ *Minutes of 1935*.

⁴ 1931 *Mission Minutes*, p. 32.

⁵ Page 17.

⁶ 1903 *Popular Report*, pp. 50-51.

⁷ *Personal Labor Reports*, 1929-30, p. 22.

⁸ Part III, p. 35.

⁹ Page 32.

¹⁰ *Letter of December*, 1935.

¹¹ 1930 *Mission Minutes*, pp. 49-50.

See also mission histories and official correspondence.

CHAPTER XIV

OUR PART IN CO-OPERATIVE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

DR. JOHN R. MOTT in a recent publication quoted Mr. Kenneth MacLennan's *Twenty Years of Missionary Co-operation*. The quotation runs thus:

The work of missionary co-operation is difficult and delicate and complex. It is inter-society and international; it is between the Church in Christian lands and the young churches in mission fields. It draws together men who have divergent religious experience and different ecclesiastical traditions and different national genius; and men who are filled with the pride of success or depressed with the sense of failure. It is a real miracle that in all these circumstances the work of co-operation should function at all. . . . The fact that it does function and functions so richly is a great Christian apologetic. . . . It is difficult to tell the whole story of co-operation. It is one of the many stories which can never be fully told because they reach down to the things of the spirit and are discerned with holy imagination; but the story of a wider fellowship and enlarged life is very real.¹

We have by no means attained to our ideal in the matter of co-operation but we thank God that during this first century of our history He has been pleased to perform this "real miracle" in our midst and that this "great Christian apologetic" shows signs of becoming a greater one.

Beginning with the account of the Theological Seminary of Saharanpur, we find the following terse statement in Dr. Wherry's history:

The question as to the reopening of the theological seminary within the bounds of the Synod was brought before the Synod at its meeting held in Saharanpur in 1883. Eight years had elapsed since the closing of the seminary in Allahabad. A committee of three consisting of the Rev. K. C. Chatterji, Rev. J. J. Lucas and Elder Malcolm Lewis was appointed to consider and report upon this matter. They were to report specially as to the probable number of students available, the best place in which to establish the school and to discover some way of providing for its support. As the outcome of this committee's work and

the deliberation of Synod, it was resolved to establish the theological seminary in Saharanpur. A board of directors was appointed, consisting of two members from each Presbytery, ten in all, with instruction to take all necessary steps for the inauguration of the seminary. The Rev. E. M. Wherry and the Rev. J. C. R. Ewing were appointed professors. Suitable buildings were erected for the accommodation of students, with class-rooms both for students admitted to the regular course of theological study and also for a preparatory class with a course covering two years. Early the next year the seminary was formally opened. The ambition of the new regime was to present to the students a course of study such as would make them fit for the pastoral and evangelistic work of the Indian Church. Special stress was laid on the spiritual life. Close attention was given to Bible study. Theology was made a systematic study of the doctrinal teaching of the Scriptures. Church history and also secular history, in so far as it touched upon the history of the Bible, were taught, so as to enable the Indian students to understand the historic setting of Scripture narrative. Regular evangelistic work was carried on at stated periods in city and village in order to make the work practical.

One great difficulty was the want of suitable text-books in the Urdu language. This obliged teaching by lectures, to be written out slowly by men unaccustomed to taking notes. This led the professors to write text-books most of which are still used in this and other theological seminaries. . . . Dr. W. F. Johnson gave the Indian Church a profound work on Systematic Theology along with commentaries on the Minor Prophets. This literary work has contributed much to further the cause of theological training and has also added to the volume of religious literature. The seminary has continued to send out a number of men annually, who have entered the service of the Church as evangelists and pastors. Some of these have distinguished themselves as pastors and superintendents of home missions. Not a few have been successful as authors and translators. In almost all Presbyteries they outnumber the foreign missionaries. There is no institution within the bounds of the missions which ministers so much to the advancement of the Church.²

Dr. Henri C. Velte, for years an able member of the staff, and head of the seminary, wrote the following in 1926 regarding the re-opening in 1884:

A considerable number of choice men were ready to enter the new classes, and the seminary had an excellent start. But after a year or two this supply was exhausted and the attendance has continued to be small. But success is measured by quality rather than by numbers, and judged by that standard, the seminary

has done well. Among those who have rendered eminent service in this work, special mention should be made of Rev. A. P. Kelso (1887-1903); Dr. J. J. Lucas (1893-1900); Rev. John N. Forman (1904-07); Dr. W. F. Johnson (1907-20); and Rev. B. B. Roy (1898-1927), who both as scholar and a teacher has written his name in large characters into the history of the institution.³

At the beginning and also at a subsequent date efforts were made to locate the seminary in Dehra Dun, but the New York Board refused to bear the expense of such a transfer. The report of 1886 contains the names of twelve students of the seminary from our area. Dr. J. C. R. Ewing was unable to continue as our representative on the faculty because of his transfer to the Punjab Mission. The following members of our Mission served as professors and teachers in the seminary:

Dr. and Mrs. J. C. R. Ewing	1884-86
Dr. and Mrs. Henry Forman	1886-93
Dr. and Mrs. J. J. Lucas	1893-1900
Rev. and Mrs. J. N. Forman	1904-07
Dr. Wm. F. Johnson and Mary Johnson	1907-20
Dr. and Mrs. J. L. Dodds	1920-32
Dr. and Mrs. Wm. H. Wiser	1933-
Rev. and Mrs. C. W. Adams	1935-37

One season Appointments

Rev. and Mrs. J. N. Forman	1910-11
Rev. and Mrs. E. Graham Parker	1923-24
Rev. and Mrs. J. Wilbur Prentice	1926-27
Dr. and Mrs. H. C. Velte	1933-34

The years of persevering effort, the ebb and tide of students, and the steady growth and permanent value of the work which marked the first half-century of this institution, must be taken for granted without detailed narrative. While all along a venture in co-operation, a further step in co-operation was taken in 1926 when the English Baptist Church entered into the fellowship of the seminary. In 1929 the Anglican Church came into the union. The former withdrew in 1932 while the latter withdrew in 1934.

Beginning in 1933 Saharanpur has had a summer school of Theology for one month, which has met with gratifying success. In 1933 a new course in Sociology was

established under the professorship of William H. Wiser, Ph.D., a member of the North India Mission. The Rev. John W. Bowman, professor of Greek since 1927, succeeded J. L. Dodds as Principal in 1932. Early in the history of the seminary a school was opened for the teaching of women. This is explained by Dr. Wherry:

An important annex to the seminary is the training school for the wives of the students, founded by Mrs. Wherry and Mrs. Ewing. The purpose of this school is to teach the wives of those who are being trained for village work, so that they may be worthy helpmates capable of promoting the work of evangelism among the village women. This school is still (1926) a very important institution. It has been conducted by the wives of professors, aided by Indian and American ladies. Along with it is a school for the children of the married students.⁴

Both Miss Mary Johnson and Mrs. J. L. Dodds rendered long periods of useful service in these two schools.⁵

In this connection it is fitting to give some details of the life of the Rev. William F. Johnson, D.D., who gave thirteen of his best years in the service of Christ in Saharanpur. When Dr. Johnson heard the news of the martyr's death in Cawnpore of his brother Albert O. Johnson, he at once decided to come to India to take his place. He soon was under appointment and he and his wife, travelling by way of the Cape of Good Hope, reached Calcutta in December 1860. His appointments in India were as follows:

Allahabad	1860-61	Allahabad (Jumna)	1892-1900
Fatehpur	1861-64	Etawah	1901-04
Fatehgarh (Rakha)	1864-72	Mainpuri	1904-07
Mainpuri	1873-75	Saharanpur	1907-20
Allahabad (Jumna)	1875-84	Mainpuri	1920-22
In America	1884-91	Mainpuri	1922-26

In 1922, at the age of eighty-two, Dr. Johnson retired and lived the last four years of his life in Mainpuri where his two daughters were living. In June 1926, during the days of the annual mission meeting, he passed away in Landour, at the age of eighty-eight, and was buried there. Dr. Johnson spent about fifty-six years in India. His record has been surpassed, in our society, only by Dr. J. J. Lucas. From 1886 till 1891 Dr. Johnson occupied the chair of President of Biddle University, North Carolina. In 1888, during their

stay in United States, Mrs. Johnson died. In 1910 while Dr. Johnson and Miss Mary were on furlough the Mission sent them the following words of greeting:

It is fifty years since our beloved fellow-missionary Rev. W. F. Johnson came to India. We send him our loving greetings, full of memories of his helpful fellowship. . . . We express our appreciation of the splendid services he has rendered these fifty years, especially in the preparation of vernacular literature, more than two hundred books having come from his pen.⁶

But his literary labors were by no means at an end in 1910 for in 1913 he wrote thus to his colleague, J. J. Lucas:

My head is buzzing with things which I think ought to be written and for which there seems to be no one in sight unless I undertake them. So I load myself up with this and that. I have begun two new subjects, Homiletics and Exegesis, with what results will be seen later.⁷

His daughter Mary said of him:

He was a man of varied gifts and interests and might have won fame for language ability had he not thrown himself heart and soul into the controversy for a more easily understood translation of the Bible and especially of the Gospels.⁸

For fourteen years he was secretary of the Allahabad Tract and Book Society and for years also secretary of the Christian Literature Society. Upon receipt of news of his death in 1926 the Board, which had commissioned Dr. Johnson to come to India, sixty-six years before, expressed its appreciation in the following lines:

The great work of his life was in the field of literature. From his pen came more than two hundred books and tracts in Urdu and Hindi in size from a few pages to six hundred pages. There is perhaps no other missionary who has produced such an extensive contribution to vernacular Christian literature. His largest book is one of six hundred pages on Systematic Theology and is used as a text-book in Northern India. He wrote commentaries, books on homiletics and apologetics and the devotional life and issued scores of tracts which have been circulated wherever Urdu and Hindi are spoken.

Though of a reserved nature Dr. Johnson was full of loving kindness and ever deepening wealth of sympathy and tenderness. Two of his daughters worked with him, Miss Mary and Mrs. W. T. Mitchell. He had an unequalled knowledge of Indian

thought and a rich store of Indian proverbs and stories, including one of the most wonderful snake stories in the world, which he would tell up to a certain point, but which he would never complete, though again and again entreated to do so. . . . He lived for one thing, namely, to make the Gospel and the New Testament known to the people of India.⁹

The story of our co-operation since 1933 in the Saharanpur Industrial School is told in another chapter. The Rev. W. D. Wardwell is our representative in this new school.

Isabella Thoburn College is the only Mission college for girls of University grade in all the United Provinces. It is the only girls' college in North India offering science. This school, sponsored by the Methodist Episcopal Mission, was developed into a high school in 1883 and raised to college grade three years later. At first it was affiliated with Calcutta University, but from 1895 till 1922 its scholastic relation was with the University of Allahabad. Since 1922 it has been affiliated with Lucknow University. In 1922 the college, including ninth and tenth classes, was moved from Lal Bagh compound in the city to a new compound, Chand Bagh.

The school offers courses in B.A., B.Sc. and Teachers' Training. M.A. and M.Sc. students reside in the college hostels and study in Lucknow University. The ninth and tenth classes do not now form a part of the institution. The enrolment for 1935-36 was one hundred and eighty bona-fide college students. Thoburn draws most of its Christian girls from the Lucknow, Dehra Dun and Allahabad high schools. A large well-managed library is an important part of the school. There is a long list of extra-curricular activities sponsored by the staff.

In 1910, in reply to an invitation, our Mission felt obliged to decline the opportunity of co-operating in Thoburn. However, in 1917-18, the college became a union institution when the North India Mission entered into co-operation and Miss Eustis (Mrs. Pederson) was appointed teacher in 1919. The new institution is governed by a Board of Directors in America; a Board of Governors in India, and a College Council. Our Mission promised to supply two teachers and our Board contributed fifty thousand rupees towards the

erection of a hostel, which was opened for use in September 1931. A tablet is to be placed in this building in memory of the Rev. Ray C. Smith, missionary from 1900 until his sudden death from cholera in 1922. At present our only representative on the staff is Miss Sadie E. Johnson; others have been Misses H. A. Downs, H. J. Inglis and D. L. Dragon.¹⁰

The College is incorporated under the laws of India and affiliated with the Lucknow University. It thus takes its place as an integral part of the official educational system. In addition to the mission grants the institution receives both regular subsidies from the government for its operating expenses as well as occasional contributions to its capital accounts.¹¹

The Fact Finding Commission noted with "great satisfaction the honorable place which has been given to Thoburn in the University of Lucknow," and congratulated the college on "the admirable use which it is making of its opportunities."¹²

Woodstock School was organized in 1852 and opened in 1854 by an English Society known as the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East. It has been in its present location since 1856. When this Society had to give up the school, J. S. Woodside, a missionary in Dehra Dun, conceived the idea of converting it into a school for missionary children. A group of Presbyterian ladies in Philadelphia became interested and in 1873 cabled to Mr. Woodside the message, "Buy Woodstock," and so Woodstock came into the hands of our Board. That was the first cablegram sent by our Board to India.

The new school was opened in 1874. In March 1877 Mrs. J. L. Scott of the North India Mission, who had been appointed head of the school by the Ladies' Society of Philadelphia, assumed charge of Woodstock. Mrs. Scott, with the able assistance of Miss Mary Fullerton and others, soon won the confidence not only of the Missions but also of the Christian public in general. In 1896, when Rev. and Mrs. H. M. Andrews of our Mission were appointed Principals, the school entered upon a new era of progress. Between 1913 and 1922 several missionaries from the Punjab were in charge of the school in turn. Rev. and Mrs. Allen E.

Parker have been in charge since 1922. Since 1922 Mr. Parker has built almost a new plant. Under the direction of his expert hand Landour hillside has become dotted with a new boys' hostel and playground, a new recitation building and science laboratories, a new wing to the main building which houses some of the lower classes, and a new playground under roof; last of all, a comfortable residence for the Principal and his family.

For a short time in the beginning the school was under the joint management of the two Missions. Then up till 1920 it was controlled entirely by the Punjab Mission, when it again came under the joint control of the same two Missions. A much wider type of union began in 1923 and several Missions now co-operate. The chief aim of the school is the education of the children of missionaries, especially those of American missionaries. The school is also open to European and Anglo-Indian children as well as to Indian children in limited numbers. In addition to the regular elementary and college preparatory courses the school offers excellent courses in Teachers' Training, Music and Art. The Parent-Teachers' Association is an important feature of the school. Woodstock embodies one of the most successful and most popular pieces of co-operative missionary work in India.

On top of Landour Hill just above Woodstock School, facing the beautiful Dehra Valley on the south and the majestic snow-capped Himalayan peaks to the north, stands Kellogg Memorial Church. This beloved place of worship was named in honor of the Rev. Samuel H. Kellogg (1863-77; 1892-99), noted missionary, preacher and linguist, who met his death in Landour from a fall. This church was built in 1903 from funds provided partly by the Board but largely by local contributors. For many years the informal organization was in the hands of the Presbyterians who provided a parade service for the non-Conformist troops of Landour Cantonment. Since 1931 the management of Kellogg has been in the hands of a joint committee made up of representatives from the Presbyterian, Methodist, United Church of Canada, Baptist and other Missions, eight in all. In addition to serving as a center for a full program of religious activities, including both English and Hindustani

services, Kellogg Church also houses the Landour Language School.

Landour is the scene of one of the newer ventures in missionary co-operation, namely, the Landour Community Hospital. This very useful institution was opened in 1931 and since then has been managed by a local committee composed of representatives of several Missions. Local laymen give their administrative services free while physicians and surgeons take turns during their vacations in giving their free professional services. New buildings are being erected on a convenient site along Tehri Road. This hospital is also doing a very important work in alleviating the suffering of many sick among the servants.

The Landour Language School has for years been the training school in Hindi and Urdu for new missionaries. The personnel of the committee of control is made up similarly to the two above-mentioned institutions. Our North India Mission and our Churches have contributed generously in providing principals and teachers for the school. It is open from April till September.

Since 1930 Dehra Dun has been the headquarters for all of our work in India as well as the place of residence of the Secretary of the India Council of our three Missions. In December 1930, under the secretaryship of the late Dr. Henri C. Velte, the India Council, comprised of seven members, held its seventeenth annual meeting in Lowriston, Dehra Dun, the new headquarters. This place was named in honor of Mr. and Mrs. John C. Lowrie, our first missionaries to India. Since 1933 the post of Secretary has been filled by our own Dr. J. Leroy Dodds who, previous to taking up these duties, was our representative in Saharanpur Seminary. Dr. Dodds now takes up his new duties of Board Secretary in New York.

1932 marked the beginning of a three years' experiment in a joint-treasurership between the North India and Punjab Missions. This new office, occupying rented quarters, has become the rendezvous of all who pass through Dehra Dun on their way to and from the hill station. George Dunbar, formerly in charge of the Fatehgarh Industrial School and then for years in charge of both the school and our treasurer's

office, is the successful manager of this new enterprise. It has been extended beyond the three years' experimental period. Incidentally Mrs. Dunbar, M.D., formerly Elizabeth Lewis of the Punjab Mission, looks after the medical needs of all and sundry, especially of the children.

For years both our Mission and our Church Councils have co-operated in the United Provinces Christian Council. Ever since its inception in 1848 our missionaries have taken a very active part in the activities of the North India Tract and Book Society. The history of this Society prepared by J. J. Lucas in 1934 gives ample illustration of this statement.

Almora, a hill station in the United Provinces, is the home of a sanatorium for people suffering from tuberculosis. We have always done what we could for this needy and worthy institution. Since 1906 the Reformed Episcopal Mission of Lalitpur, U.P., has maintained an affiliated relationship to the North India Mission. The rules governing this relationship were modified in 1934.

These mutual relations of helpful service among missions, between churches and missions, between religious and secular institutions, happily illustrate the glorious fact that we are all one in Christ Jesus and it is only as we cordially co-operate that we advance His program of teaching, preaching and healing.

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- ² *Our Missions in India*, 1926, pp. 247-49.
- ³ *Educational Survey*, 1926, Part I, p. 2.
- ⁴ *Our Missions in India*, p. 249.
- ⁵ *History of the Tract and Book Society*, J. J. LUCAS.
See also Board letter 55, March 23, 1928, p. 5.
- ⁶ 1910 *Mission Minutes*, p. 14.
- ⁷ Mary Johnson's letter of 1935.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ Board letter, 7 July 1926, pp. 7-8.
- ¹⁰ 1917 *Mission Minutes*, p. 15; 1917 *Mission Minutes*, p. 31; 1918 *Mission Minutes*, p. 11.
- Conspectus of Co-operative Missionary Enterprise*, 1935, p. 133.
- ¹¹ *India-Burma*, Vol. I, p. 170.

CHAPTER XV

BOYS' SCHOOLS AND HOSTELS

It has already been stated that the Farrukhabad high school which was begun in 1839 was moved in 1845 into buildings turned over to the Mission by the East India Company. For several years no Muhammedan boys enrolled in the school. Soon after the Mutiny, Robert S. Fullerton established the custom of requiring all students and masters, both Christian and non-Christian, to attend Sabbath worship which was held in the schoolroom. In those days Hindu and Muhammedan festivals and holy days were not treated as school holidays.

In 1901 the school stood first in the United Provinces in the percentage of those who passed the tenth class examination. The school management received a municipal grant during most of the years that the school was situated in the city. In 1912, in accordance with a new Mission rule, all the Christian masters became Bible teachers, instead of pursuing the former custom of one teacher for all the Bible classes.

In the year 1904 the educational committee mentioned the need of more spacious quarters for this growing institution, and at the same time foresaw the need of a hostel for Christian boys. During the biennium of 1910-12 the number of Christian teachers increased from six to twenty. The high-water mark in enrolment was reached in 1908 when the number stood at four hundred and forty-two. The next peak in the enrolment was in 1914 when the number was three hundred and seventy. When the school was moved out of the city in 1914 the attendance was slightly reduced. By 1921 the enrolment had dropped to one hundred and sixty-four. One feature of the new nationalism was a mushroom-like growth of nationalist schools. These, along with much propaganda for home-rule, kept the enrolment down for several years.

In 1921 plans were initiated by the Mission for adding two more classes, the eleventh and twelfth, but this scheme never materialized. In 1923 the school forfeited a government grant of nearly seven thousand rupees on account of the Conscience Clause. During its near century of existence Farrukhabad high school has had about thirty managers. From 1913 on there was a full-time missionary manager, except during the period 1931-34, when Mr. Peter Paul was both manager and head-master. Under the administration of Ralph D. Cornuelle, 1924-31, progress was made in the introduction of modern methods of teaching and supervision. During this time the School adopted the motto: LET YOUR LIGHT SHINE. This motto is illustrated by a candle-stick of seven branches. When Mr. Cornuelle's useful career was ended by his untimely death in February 1931, he was succeeded by Peter Paul, B.A., L.T., who thus became the first Indian manager of a high school in our Mission. Mr. Paul served as both manager and head-master until the time of his transfer to similar duties in Jhansi in 1934.

Henri R. Ferger is the present manager and superintendent of the Christian boys' hostel, while K. Das, B.A., L.T., is the head-master and superintendent of the hostel for non-Christian boys. Of the nine or ten head-masters the Rev. George B. Rulach rendered the longest service, from 1883 till 1914. The second longest term was that of P. Paul, 1916-34.

After many years search for a suitable site, in 1912 a plot of about six acres of land midway between the city and the Mission compound was secured for about two thousand rupees. Wesley L. Hemphill, who was manager from 1910 till 1914, supervised the building of the new high school, the corner-stone of which was laid by Mrs. Stanley White in February 1913. It was first used for classes in July 1914. Mr. Hemphill's building plans included a house for the head-master and a hostel for non-Christian boys, the latter being completed in 1917. About the same time residences for masters were erected on the Mission compound.

The survey committee of 1933 observed that for seven years the school had steadily grown in numbers and influence, and that the school was using a carefully worked out

syllabus for Scripture teaching. It further noted the advantage to the school of its excellent building, equipment and location, also the lack of proper emphasis on better methods and the apparent lack of enthusiasm among the Christian masters for Christian service.

During the winter of 1928-29 a new modern hostel was erected on the Mission compound to take the place of the old hostel which had served since 1901, the year when Barhpur was made the central boys' orphanage. Funds for this hostel came from the American Sunday School Christmas offerings of 1928. One wing of this new home is called Prugh Hall in honor of Dr. Prugh who gave one thousand dollars for it.

The recommendation of the survey committee of 1933 regarding the amalgamation of the Mainpuri and Farrukhabad high schools was never carried out. In 1934 the Mainpuri hostel for Christian boys was closed and most of the boys were transferred to the old industrial school hostel in Barhpur, Farrukhabad. In another chapter will be found the story of the Mission Industrial School of Fatehgarh, an institution which up to the time of its transfer to Saharanpur in 1934 had trained many men and boys during its more than a quarter century of existence.

JHANSI

The Holcombs, who founded our work in Jhansi and who were from time to time assisted by the Griswolds, the Henry Formans and others, ended their service there in 1905. On account of the growing railway community in which were many Christians, land was purchased in 1909 in Sipri on the west side of the railway lines, and in 1911 a neat church was erected there. Except for the pastor's house and several rented houses, the Mission has not built any additional buildings on this compound. The Sipri congregation is unique in that none of its members are Mission employees, although the Sunday School teachers include missionaries.

The girls' school on the Jhansi compound was succeeded by one for boys. It was opened in 1910 and was raised to a middle school in 1912. Buildings for the accommodation of this school were constructed in 1914 and added to

in 1919, all under the supervision of William H. Hezlep. The hostel accommodates about sixty Christian boys. As a middle school it made steady progress. During the regime of H. R. Ferger 1924-32 it became famous for scout work, band-playing and other vocational activities. A dispensary for the exclusive use of the boys and people on the compound was opened in 1929.

In 1933, while Mr. Hezlep was acting manager, the school was raised to the status of a high school. Nine of the eleven boys passed the tenth class examination in 1934. Two new rooms have just been added to provide necessary accommodations for present classes. Science classes are soon to be opened. The school and hostel are now under the supervision of Mr. Peter Paul who, with his family, lives in the bungalow purchased by the Mission in 1886.

Miss Van Doren, B. B. Malvea and J. C. Manry in their educational survey of 1933, had this to say of the Jhansi Middle School:

As far as could be judged from what we could see, this school easily wins the first place on a number of points. It was a pleasure to note (a) the fine spirit of the staff and students, (b) the wide-awakeness of the teachers in introducing and using new methods, (c) the fine band and famous scout troop and (d) a number of useful papers and magazines on the reading table.¹

K. Das is again head-master and also manager.

MAINPURI

Through the past ninety years it (Mainpuri) has had an unbroken record of devoted ministry and in it and through it is manifest the undying labor of many a servant of God whose name is now blessed in countless homes of the city and neighborhood. Though old, this institution has the spirit and life of flourishing youth. It has over two hundred and fifty students on the roll and has shown steady growth all along.²

Mainpuri, the third mission station in point of years, has had a continuous record of educational service on behalf of Indian youth, first in schools for boys and girls and more recently in schools for boys and adults. Mainpuri was fortunate in benefiting from the continual services from 1896 till their retirement in 1931, of the Rev. and Mrs.

W. T. Mitchell. Except for their first season spent in Allahabad the Mitchells devoted their whole life to Mainpuri district and town, ministering to the spiritual, social and intellectual needs of Christians and non-Christians.

In 1853, on property between the town and the Mission compound, the school building (assembly hall, two class rooms and two offices) was erected. In 1907 and in 1909 more class rooms were added, while in 1914 seven additional rooms, including two science rooms, were constructed. In the latter year a hostel for non-Christian boys was built on the corner of the spacious athletic field. Mainpuri differs from other high schools in that it does not provide continuous tuition from the primary to the tenth class.

During the summer months (1914) our esteemed head-master, N. C. Mukerji, M.A., who had served the school with unusual ability for fourteen years (1900-14), passed to his rest. Mr. Mukerji saw the school more than double in enrolment. He saw the class rooms increase from seven to nineteen, the staff from ten to eighteen. Twenty acres of land were added to the school campus during his term of service. A boarding house for non-Christian students and seven teachers' houses were also built during his time.³

Mr. K. P. Ganguli, B.A., succeeded Mr. Mukerji and until his death in 1928 gave many years of devoted service as head-master of the school. As superintendent in the non-Christian hostel, he and his family lived with the Hindu boys. He was succeeded by Mr. R. W. Thomas, who subsequently assumed also the duties of manager and carried both till his retirement in 1936. He was succeeded by P. Paul. During his entire career W. T. Mitchell acted as manager of the high school, in addition to his duties, for some years, as district missionary. He and Mrs. Mitchell established the boys' primary school. Mr. Mitchell's chief joy was his daily Bible classes in both primary and high schools.

Mainpuri town is small and enjoys little growth. Hence it has been comparatively easy to acquire land there. There are really four compounds: the original large compound accommodating three bungalows and the training school; the small high school compound; the large athletic field which joins the first compound; and then the new compound more than a mile away, east of the railroad.

This new compound, sometimes called Kharpari, comprises twenty acres of land which were acquired in 1922. The building program of 1923-24 provided for a new residence, a boys' hostel, primary school building, houses for teachers and quarters for servants. The total cost was more than thirty-five thousand rupees. During their last term of service the Mitchells lived in this new bungalow. Alas! this program of rapid expansion and growth has met with a severe reverse, for the story closes with the sad news that in 1934 the Louchs were transferred to Cawnpore leaving the new bungalow vacant, and within a few months the hostel was closed and the primary school was transferred to Fatehgarh. This flourishing place which had blossomed forth in the desert is now a "deserted village." Hope springs eternal that it will once again come to life in the service of Christ and His Church.

ETAH

The story of the Etah Vocational middle school may be resumed by quoting from the report of the present manager, Walter D. Griffiths.

For plant the school has between five and six acres of land occupied by school and hostels, manager's and teachers' houses, gardens and playgrounds. The school building was built (1932) with money given by the ladies of Los Angeles Presbyterian Society in memory of Mrs. Robert Cleland and others. Out of the same fund an open shed with two store-rooms attached was built to take care of carpentry and tailoring.

The Horace Cleland Memorial Hall includes the warden's quarters and school kitchen as well as dormitory. This was built with money donated by Mrs. Robert Cleland in memory of her son Horace Cleland. The George Lilly Memorial Hall, built by Mrs. Lilly in memory of her husband, is used mainly for dormitory, but two rooms are used for classes. In addition to the above, there are some teachers' houses.

In 1932-33 the average enrolment was one hundred and twenty-one of whom ninety-nine were Christians, nineteen were Hindus and three were Muhammedans. In 1933-34 the enrolment was only one hundred and four, the loss being due to the reduction in the number of hostel boys. There are seven teachers of whom six are Christian. Five teachers have had training, four of them at Moga.⁴

This boarding school was begun in rented quarters, then it was moved to the first compound near the district missionary's bungalow, then to the second compound. Later it was brought back again for a few years to the first compound. Since 1913 it has enjoyed continuous existence on the present site. For some years after 1913 the original church-school-building on the Grand Trunk Road was used for hearing classes and the boys walked back and forth daily. Several times small plots of land adjacent to the compound have been added by purchase. The bungalow built in 1907 for the district missionary became the home of the school manager after 1916. In 1932, on land secured on the opposite side of the public road, a class-room building was erected, as above mentioned. A novel feature of this new school-house is the underground basement comprising two rooms which provide a cool place for study in the hot season.

Beginning as a primary school it was made an Anglo-Vernacular school in 1905. Further metamorphosis brought it to the stage of vocational middle school. In addition to pursuing literary courses many of the boys learn useful hand-crafts. A large measure of self-support is effected by having the boys do most of the necessary work in connection with the running of the school. The 1933 Survey Committee was pleased to state that the Etah boys' school leads all of our schools in the use of improved methods of teaching. It gave as the reason for this situation the fact that five of the teachers got their training at Moga. The survey report remarks that, "There is not much evidence for the validity of the name 'vocational' in the title of the school."⁵ However, many of the boys do get a fairly thorough training in wood-work, tailoring, bookbinding, soap-making, and practically all the garden work is in direct charge of the boys.

It may be well to insert here some of the statements from the educational survey of 1933:

In the matter of the use of new methods the boys' schools at Etah and Jhansi and the Mainpuri Training School deserve special mention. . . . In religious education candour compels the Committee to record its profound dissatisfaction. The art of story telling seems to be little known. . . . Too few teachers regard the teaching of Scripture as a privilege and a pleasure. . . . Very few schools seem to have made any attempt at creat-

ing a worship program that would have a particular appeal to children or young people, either Christian or non-Christian. . . . Co-education is recommended first, in order to get the maximum use of resources and secondly, the promotion of better adjustments between boys and girls and between men and women seems to us to be bound up with a sane and well-considered policy of increasing co-education. . . . One of the great needs is a means of training girls who have a bent toward manual occupations. . . . The present situation regarding normal training for girls in this Mission is chaotic. . . . The committee recommends that the Conscience Clause be adopted. . . . If Mission schools do not accept Government aid, they had best give up "recognition" as well and change radically their whole character.⁶

The educational survey of 1926 gave many testimonies showing that the rejection of the provisions of the Conscience Clause had had little or no effect on attendance. As already stated, the Conscience Clause was accepted in 1934, and two years' experiment seems to have won all and sundry to the support of this new policy.

The perennial questions regarding the right proportion of effort to be expended on primary and higher education and the second question regarding the proportionate effort and money spent on educational and evangelistic work, have not yet been satisfactorily answered and they probably never will be. These recent years of financial difficulty have resulted in the closure of several schools and the temporary vacating of one of our stations. But increase and decrease are not accurately measured by the opening or closing of stations and institutions, but by our maintaining or relinquishing our evangelistic and educational opportunities.

JUMNA

The Jumna boys' high school, which was opened in the Jumna Church, Allahabad, was later transferred to the old civil and criminal courthouse of the East India Company, a building which stood just north of and quite close to the big Banyan tree. Soon after the opening of the college in 1902 it became the policy to develop collegiate education on the eastern part of the campus and to use the western part for secondary education. In the fall of 1904 it was decided that the old building occupied by the high school should be

removed and that any usable materials should be utilized in a new school building "near the western end of the compound." The annual report of 1905-06 stated that the Jumna high school had "made good progress in its new home." From time to time additions have been made to the original building until today it is the least attractive of all our high school buildings.

Many Allahabad missionaries in turn have acted as managers of the Jumna school. Dr. C. A. R. Janvier was in charge when he left India in 1901. During his ten years in Allahabad one of Dr. Arthur H. Ewing's duties was the supervision of this school. During his time much progress was made. Not only was the new building erected on the new site, but several more adjacent plots of land were purchased, on which were built the hostel and several houses for teachers. The present Manager is James C. Manry, Ph.D., who is ably assisted by the head-master, Mr. B. C. Lal, B.A. Mr. J. E. Jacob was a teacher in this school from 1890 till 1925.

With the introduction of the unitary university scheme in Allahabad, the teaching of classes for the bachelor and the master of arts degrees at the Jumna compound ceased, and in 1924 the two upper classes of the high school were transferred to Ewing Christian College. This arrangement, which reduced the school to a middle school, continued till 1931 when the ninth class was transferred back. By the following year Jumna had once more become a high school and prepared the tenth class boys for the matriculation examination.

In 1933, under the new Constitution of the college, Jumna high school was placed under the control of the Board of Directors of Allahabad Christian College. This was done with the hope that a school of education might be developed in the college with special responsibility for supervision of the high school, this being a part of the whole scheme for research along educational lines. Since 1902 Jumna high school in its every detail of growth and change, has been closely and vitally related to the college. The engineering building, erected by P. M. Edwards in 1906, is now a part of the high school. The annual report of

1935 contained a list of attractive extra-curricular activities.

Under the far-sighted leadership of Arthur Ewing the Jumna high school hostel came into being in 1909. Erected on newly acquired land just west of the high school, it provided accommodation for forty-eight boys and a warden. Commodious enough when new, this hostel has long ceased to provide sufficient room for the growing needs of this, our largest high school. One interesting feature of this hostel is that both Christian and non-Christian students live in it. Worthy of mention also is the fact that it is almost entirely self-supporting. In 1933 the educational survey committee reported this hostel to be "by far the best conducted school hostel in our Mission," and gave as the reason, "the personal effort and interest of the superintendent." This same Committee found that the living expenses in this hostel are higher than in any other in our Mission. In 1933 a part of the compound was converted into a school garden which is divided into plots, for which groups of boys are responsible. This new feature bids fair not only to become very popular but also to justify itself from a pedagogical point of view.

In 1903, with a grant of four hundred and eighty-five rupees, the Mission gave its "approval of the plan of providing a place of residence and training for Christian boys."⁸ Thus began the hostel for Christian boys. Their first home was in rented quarters near one of the railway bungalows on the east end of the campus. Later permanent quarters were found in a building on the bank of the river just opposite the church. For many years (1907-18) Mr. J. E. Jacob, teacher, elder in the Jumna Church, and all-round general adviser to many missionaries, acted as house-father of this institution. From 1912, till the time of her leaving India in 1917, Mrs. Arthur Ewing was the superintendent of the hostel and developed also a primary school, intended especially for Christian children living in the neighbourhood. There were about eighty-five boarders when Mrs. Ewing turned over the management to J. C. Manry in 1917-18. The following year Dr. Manry was given a vote of censure by the Mission for having named the place "Little India," but the name became popular.

Space forbids the tracing of Little India through all the vicissitudes of its post-war history. The culmination of many ups and downs came in 1933 when the educational survey committee recommended, "that this hostel be closed from July 1933," the verdict of the community being, "That this hostel no longer serves a definite need." Little India was accordingly closed, by order of the General Board and the thirty-six boys then in residence were provided for elsewhere.

The Jumna primary school, which was opened by Mrs. Arthur Ewing sometime between Dr. Ewing's death in 1912 and Mrs. Ewing's final departure from India in 1917, was housed in the western end of the old East India Company's bungalow, which had been built in 1821. The staff of two or three was usually composed of the wives of some of the masters and the supervision was in the hands of this person and that. Upon recommendation of the 1933 Survey Committee, this school was closed at the time of closing Little India. The vacated school rooms were at once converted into living quarters for college professors. Little India hostel has also been converted, part into living quarters for teachers and part into class rooms for third and fourth classes, as well as a room for handicrafts.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Part III, p. 24.
- ² *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- ³ *Annual Mission Report*, 1914.
- ⁴ *Annual Report for 1933-34*.
- ⁵ Part III, p. 25.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, Part III, pp. 3-12.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 34.
- ⁸ 1903 *Mission Minutes*, p. 25.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MISSION AS AN ORGANIZATION

MORE than once this narrative has dealt with work and movements which once were active but no longer exist. To those who would say: "The Mission as an organization, whatever it may once have been, no longer exists, so why bother about its history?" we would reply that it is the historian's duty to relate past events as they articulated the passions and loyalties of devoted people. An account of the evolution and devolution of the North India Mission would seem to be an integral part of this centennial history.

In the very beginning of our work, not only was there no organized mission, but there was no precedent for such an organization. The past century marked much progress in the development of the technique of organization, and for our Mission to have passed through this organized stage was unavoidable. Allahabad, where work opened in 1836, was for years spoken of as the Allahabad Mission. Likewise, from 1838 onward, it was customary to speak of the Far-rukhabad Mission. The number of missionaries was small and the number of Indian colleagues was even less, so that in reality no organization was required. It was the natural thing for most of the details of our work to be decided by the home office in New York. The matter of locating missionaries may be used here as an illustration. Regarding the new recruits of 1859 the Secretary's letter stated that their location had been left to the Mission. But the home Secretary continued as an adviser in this and in many other field matters. A letter of 1864 stated that: "Johnson (W. F.) should not be tied down to school duties but must have time for direct preaching." In 1867 Secretary Lowrie suggested that J. F. Ullman be located in Fatehgarh.

During the first fifteen years or more of the Mission's history, business matters were settled either by informal meetings of the men of the Mission, or by circulars sent to

them. The constitution of the Mission, an eighteen page pamphlet, was adopted in December 1855. Among other things it provided for an annual business meeting of the Mission and for the annual election of a president, a clerk, a recording secretary, and a treasurer.

The following preface in the handwriting of J. J. Walsh is of interest here (*Minutes* of the Lower North India Mission of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Vol. I, 1859 to 1883. Preface):

As this book commences with the minutes of the third annual meeting it may be well to record the reason why the minutes of the first and second meetings are not included. The only reason is that all the documents were destroyed in the Mutiny of 1857. The first meeting was held at Futtehgarh (Fatehgarh) in Dec. 1855 and the second at Allahabad in 1856. Our Mission was then called the Farrukhabad Mission.

(*Sd.*) J. J. WALSH, Recording Secretary.¹

Copies of the above-mentioned minutes are found at headquarters in New York.

Many times the Ludhiana Mission and our Mission met in joint session. The missionaries would meet in the same city and hold some sessions separately and some jointly. After the organization of the Synod of North India it was usually arranged to have the meetings of Synod immediately follow those of the Missions, at the same place. The following places have been honored as meeting places of the North India Mission:

Allahabad	Agra
Fatehpur	Saharanpur
Mainpuri	Ludhiana
Fatehgarh (Rakha and Barhpur)	Dehra Dun
Etawah	Landour
Jhansi	Lahore

Dr. Johnson, Dr. Lucas and others used to entertain the younger missionaries by narrating thrilling tales of "memorable mission meetings." When matters of policy were discussed, when difficulties arose over the transfer of members and when personnel problems had to be dealt with, the strength of men's souls was often tested, and emotions were often stirred which left vivid memories for years. The

meeting of 1866 was memorable in this respect that all three of our India Missions held a common meeting in Fatehgarh.

After the Mission became large enough to create a problem of accommodation the meetings for years alternated between Fatehgarh and Allahabad. Then for some years the meetings were held annually at the Jumna compound, Allahabad. In those days one of the standing officers of the organization was "The Custodian of Annual Meeting Furniture." October 1924 was the date of the last annual meeting held in Allahabad. Since that time the annual gathering has been held in Kellogg Memorial Church, Landour, in the month of June. The time-honored Custodian has become obsolete.

Mr. Walsh on the title page of the first volume of minutes used the name, "Lower Mission," and added that it was once called the "Farrukhabad Mission." Evidently in conversation they often spoke of the "Upper and Lower Missions" and apparently it was thought that the name Farrukhabad Mission would be dropped. But it seems that the name "Lower Mission" never supplanted the other name. In 1904, by formal action, the name was changed to North India Mission. Those who named the Mission must have gotten the idea from already existing names such as that of the Bible Society and the Tract and Book Society. The three volumes of hand-written minutes are: 1859-1883; 1884-1892 and 1892-1902. Beginning with 1903 the minutes of the annual meetings have been printed each year.

For several years one copy of the business circulars was sent the rounds of the men members of the Mission. A matter would be sent to the Mission Chairman by some one in the station where the problem arose. The Chairman would frame a resolution dealing with the subject and start it on its round, usually indicating the order of names. On this same paper members recorded their votes and usually added comments, if not dissertations. Many of these old circulars make interesting, even entertaining reading. The items had to do largely with money for repairs, advice regarding the purchase of new property and land, engaging, promoting and dismissing Indian workers, and kindred matters.

In 1896 the Mission decided that there should be a copy of the annual meeting minutes for each station. Earlier than this the Board had ordered that all correspondence be shown to all missionaries. The first typed letters came from New York in 1891. Secretary J. C. Lowrie, who in his old age had to resume the correspondence with India, was wont to put his whole letter on one side of one sheet of paper. About the middle of the page he would begin to write smaller and the size of his letters kept reducing as he approached the bottom of the page. When necessity required it he used a second sheet, but more often he wrote his postscripts crosswise on the top of the letter. It probably never occurred to him that some one might try to decipher these letters forty or fifty years later.

The development of the Mission as an organization seemed to be a matter of concern to those at home. In 1867 Secretary Irving wrote: "We are afraid, dear brethren, that you are making too little of your Presbytery and too much of your Mission . . . all spiritual matters should be considered by the Presbytery."² While much of the material in those old letters and circulars dealt with mundane affairs, nevertheless many of the comments indicate that the persons responsible felt that what they decided must be approved of God, and that their judgments and actions had significance in a spiritual kingdom having permanent values.

As the years passed the organization became more complex and detailed. In 1872 a committee was appointed to collate all Mission rules and revise the constitution. In 1885 the Mission filled out the first statistical form ever sent out by the Board. Apparently this form was not satisfactory to the Mission for the very next year a committee was appointed to prepare the Mission's own statistical form. The Board letter of February 1884 stated that, "the statistical report is a model." If the Secretary of the India Council should find such words in a Board letter nowadays he undoubtedly would have them embossed in gold and framed!

About 1892 a move was made to have the Mission formed into an incorporated body so that it might exercise legal powers. The date of the registration is 1909 but most

probably the act of incorporation had taken place some years earlier. The rules fixing the powers and duties of the executive committee, found in the 1905 minutes, were revised the following year. The first printed minutes, those of 1903, contain in an appendix, the constitution and bye-laws of the Mission.³

The Manual of 1878, which was revised in 1882, recognized women missionaries as members of the Mission. Apparently this provision of the Manual was treated as a dead letter until the Board called the Mission's attention to it. In the annual meeting of 1890 a thousand-word protest against such a Manual rule was sent by the Mission to the New York Board. Two years later this protest was reiterated in a two-page document. This reform in favor of the women missionaries consumed much time and led to much discussion. Finally in 1895 the Mission decided, probably not unanimously, that it was proper "that ladies be recognized as members of our Mission, as provided for in paragraph thirty-six of the Manual."⁴

But the good ladies had to continue to exercise their patience, for not until 1900 do we find "afternoon sessions (of annual meeting) open to the ladies and other sessions on special invitation." The next year the matter was happily consummated when ladies were welcomed in all sessions of the annual meeting. Under the date of 1905 the constitution was amended so as to make only men eligible to permanent offices of the Mission. Since 1922 (without any change of the constitution) there has usually been one woman member of the executive committee. As yet no woman has ever served as President of the Mission. In 1935 Miss Dorothy Dragon acted as recording secretary of the annual meeting. This annual meeting, which in recent years has been so carefully guarded against the presence of Indian members, was for many years just as carefully guarded against the presence of women missionaries.

In the beginning there were no rules for vacations and furloughs. The work was new and travel was slow and the turnover for several years was so great that the matter of furloughs to America scarcely had a chance to arise. Because of the delays and inconveniences of travel the early

missionaries entertained little or no hope of ever returning to America. This lack of missionary appeals by furloughed missionaries before the home congregations made itself felt in the scarcity of new recruits. From 1873 till 1879 there were no new missionaries, while during that time two had died and five had left the field with little or no hope of returning. Again in 1881, it was reported that there was only one candidate for India and "he cannot go."

A letter from New York in 1879 stated that the Board did not "engage to send missionaries back," thus indicating that up till that time no regular system of furloughs was in force. In 1870 the Mission had been censured by the Board for allowing some one to go home "without sufficient reason." But gradually the custom of furloughs was established so that by 1892 it was stated that the term for single women should be seven years while that for men and couples should be eight. In 1897 nine hundred and twenty-four rupees was mentioned as the "usual grant for travel to United States." The minutes of 1892 contained a request from the Mission asking that it be allowed to vote on the return (after first furlough) of missionaries.

For many years vacations and trips to the hill stations were granted only for reasons of ill-health. As early as 1871 Upper Woodstock, the first of our mission houses in Landour, was spoken of as a sanatorium. Two or three years later travelling expenses were provided for trips to the hill stations. In 1888 it was stipulated that such expense was legitimate only in case of the doctor's recommendation. But from 1899 on an annual grant was provided for all, for travel to hill stations. There are many things in the records of this past century of our work which reveal the truth of the statement that things that are luxuries in one generation become necessities in the next generation.

There is no space in a brief history for a detailed account of the relation of the Church to the North India Mission. The history of the years of Church-Mission co-operation has been set forth in a more erudite treatise, viz. John B. Weir's thesis on the subject. Conference reports and annual minutes already published provide abundant material for any student wishing to study the technical side of the matter. Even so,

brief mention must here be made of what has been the liveliest topic since the Princeton Post-War Conference of 1920.

From about 1875 letters from across the Atlantic contained frequent references to the danger of developing a strong Mission-centric organization, and to the need of magnifying the Indian Church through its local congregations and Presbyteries. As early as 1885 a tentative plan was approved by the Mission for putting evangelistic work entirely into the hands of the Presbyteries. In 1890 there was published *Views of the Mission (Ludhiana Mission) on Changes Proposed by the Board*.⁵ The changes then suggested by the Board were:

Institutions of higher education should be placed under the control of Boards of Directors; control of primary education and all forms of evangelistic work should be gradually transferred to Presbyteries; the administration of foreign missionary funds should be entrusted to a standing committee of the Missions and Synod.

The Ludhiana Mission in reply gave a *resume* of all the discussions of the Mission during the years previous and concluded that the ideas of the Board were "both wrong in principle and impracticable of application," especially the third point. Apparently this answer was considered by our Mission to be sufficient for both bodies. A matter of such moment naturally did not long remain quiescent. A paper prepared by J. J. Lucas in 1913 stated that committees were then at work, "scrutinizing the policy of their Missions with a view to finding and reporting some more excellent way."⁶ In that paper Dr. Lucas argued in favor of some such scheme as the Board had proposed in 1889.

The spirit of Indian nationalism had been steadily growing ever since the first meeting of Congress about 1885. This feeling of patriotism, further stimulated during the World War, legitimately manifested itself within the councils of the Indian Church. Few if any missionaries deliberately opposed the new trends; but so many sincere and apparently cogent arguments could be presented against the practicability of devolution that little progress was made.

The first really practical step in our field was taken in 1918, when Departmental Committees were set up to super-

vise most of the work that the Board had suggested should be placed in the hands of Mission-Synodical committees. These four committees, Evangelistic, Medical, Boys' School and Girls' School, carried on the administration of much transferred work and real progress was made during these five years. In 1923, as a result of the Saharanpur Conference of 1921, a system of three Joint Committees, Evangelistic, Educational and Medical (headed up by a Central Finance Committee), was put into operation. This scheme, originally called the Saharanpur Plan, was subsequently referred to as the Cawnpore Plan, and later still, as the Etawah Plan, because of major modifications made by committees sitting in these two places.

The Pledge of 1930 taken by the North India Mission revealed the glad fact that the Mission was ready to meet with the Church in seeking a better means of co-operation. Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji, our representative at the Lakeville, U.S.A., Conference of 1931, told the American Church representatives assembled there that all of us, missionaries and Indians, were in dead earnest about solving this difficult problem, and that we would find our way out, if we were allowed to proceed unhampered.

Three round table conferences of Church and Mission delegates held in 1931 and 1932 resulted in the formulation of an entirely new scheme of co-operation and was given the name of the General Board. This General Board is made up of forty members; twenty elected by the Mission, and ten elected by each of the two Church Councils. It is completely organized and has full power and final authority. The Church owes much to the excellent administrative services of Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji and the Rev. E. Graham Parker who have served as chairman and secretary respectively of this General Board during its initial years of operation.

Thus we have completed the cycle. Starting one hundred years ago with no organization as a Mission, we find ourselves ready to enter our second century of service with the Mission organization, long past the peak of its importance, reduced almost to zero. If any reader considers this an overdrawn statement let him ponder the fact that the Mission minutes of 1935 were printed as a booklet of fifty-

eight pages while the General Board proceedings for the same year reached the high water mark of one hundred and thirty-four pages.

John B. Weir, in his *Presbyterian Church and Mission Co-operation Studied Historically*, states:

In more recent developments the North India Mission in its Pledge of 1930 rose to heights never attained by the Punjab Mission. The value of that Pledge, however, has largely been vitiated, first by the delay by the Church in rising to the opportunity offered, and then by the marked change in mission sentiment in 1932-33. Indeed the general attitude in the Mission, judging from recent correspondence, may prove to be unfavorable to the future of any such plan. There seems a very real danger that the next step in the process in the North India Mission area may resemble the last in the psychological effect on co-operation, of a strong minority group of missionaries who clearly do not favor the latest proposal.⁸

Dr. Weir's statement when composed in 1933 was practically correct. But a willingness of the "minority group" for the General Board to have a fair trial and a deeper devotion of all, both missionaries and church leaders, to Christ, have united us in a new effort to magnify Christ and develop His Church through this latest organization. Secretary Speer wrote asking whether it was a problem of "organization rather than a spiritual problem." This General Board is based upon "the enduring strength of valid friendship" (Weir), and while its day continues, it deserves the undivided support of every member of Church and Mission.

REFERENCES

¹ Vol. I, p. 1.

² See Archives.

³ See also 1904 *Mission Minutes*, p. 18.

⁴ *Mission Minutes of 1895*.

⁵ Published privately in 1890.

⁶ Page 3.

⁷ A Ph.D. dissertation.

⁸ Page 188.

CHAPTER XVII

ADVENTURES IN INDUSTRIAL TRAINING AND VILLAGE UPLIFT

RAKHA CARPET AND TENT FACTORY

MUCH has already been written about the Mission's first venture in the manufacturing business. In order to provide work for the orphans of those years cotton weaving was begun in Rakha, Fatehgarh. This was soon followed by carpet-weaving and this in turn by tent-manufacturing. Dr. J. J. Lucas, who himself lived in Rakha in the early part of his career, writes as follows about the Rakha factory:

In order to provide employment for the larger boys in the orphanage six workmen were brought from Mirzapur to give instruction in the art of carpet-weaving. This branch of the industry soon became very remunerative, the carpets and rugs being of such good material and so well made that sometimes after years of service they sold for almost their original cost. To carpet-weaving some years later was added the manufacture of tents. After the Mutiny the tent factory and carpet-weaving industry were revived and greatly prospered. The tent factory was known as "The Native Christian Orphanage Tent Factory Company." It was organized as a joint stock company, the original shares being issued at fifty rupees each. The workmanship and quality of the tents and carpets won the factory a good name all over North India so that the Government and rajahs of native states patronized the company. In 1872 the Maharajah of Gwalior paid ten thousand rupees for two large Durbar tents made at Rakha.

The dividends on the fifty-rupee shares for many years were about one hundred per cent annually, and the shares were considered gilt edge investments. The Manager, Prem Masih, was one of the boys who had found a home in the Orphanage in 1838 and to his integrity of character and ability as a manager was due largely the prosperity of the tent factory. The children of the generation that grew up in the Orphanage preferred to be teachers, preachers and clerks rather than to work in the tent factory or to till the land which had been given to their parents, and so year by year the tent factory lost its Christian workmen.

For this and for other reasons it failed to compete successfully with similar factories in Cawnpore and other places. About 1880 the company was forced to go into liquidation, the share-holders getting back the original value of their shares. About 1895 the Mission handed back to Government the tract of land which had been given in 1838.¹

Thus ended the industrial age of Rakha. After 1884 when the boys' orphanage was closed there was no further talk of an industrial program at Rakha.

FATEHGARH INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

About 1900 the boys of the new hostel in Barhpur, Fatehgarh began to receive training in several trades. The Report of 1903 states that about twenty boys were engaged in learning shoe-making, carpentry, carpet-weaving and tailoring. Most of them were also spending a part of their time in acquiring a literary education. In the 1906 report there is mention of blacksmithing and cycle-repairing and the formation of a stock company for handling leather. The same year we read that, "The shoe-makers have made 553 pairs of shoes besides doing a large amount of repairs. The carpenters have prepared all the wood-work for Miss Fullerton's house, built a book-case, dresser and beds and many smaller articles."² The report of 1909 stated that "the chief demand for the school was the training of Christian boys." The management of the school seemed to have a vision of the opportunity for our boys along industrial lines. In 1911 George Dunbar, industrial promoter of Cawnpore, was called by the Mission to "take charge of the industrial work in Fatehgarh." It was not at that time dignified by the name of school but in a very short time it became a school, occupying new quarters. In 1914 Mr. Dunbar erected a bungalow, factory quarters and an office building on land across the road from the original mission compound and one half mile farther east. A photograph of the new plant appears in the 1914 report. For several years Mr. Dunbar put emphasis on carpentry, blacksmithing, motor-mechanics, building and tailoring. The aim of the school was to "inspire a sense of the dignity of labor."

The most flourishing period of the school was during

the world war and immediately following. In 1922 when Mr. Dunbar was elected treasurer to succeed Ray C. Smith, he found it necessary from then on to divide his time between these two jobs. He continued in charge of the industrial school until his transfer to Dehra Dun in 1932 when the somewhat diminished industrial school was put under the supervision of W. D. Wardwell. Early in 1934 the control of the school came under the new General Board and in August of the same year the school was moved to Saharanpur where it had been decided to join in with our Punjab Mission and the New Zealand Presbyterian Mission in a union industrial school.³ The Wardwells at the same time were transferred to Saharanpur, Mr. Wardwell to represent the General Board there and to teach lathe work and motor mechanics. In the conditions laid down in the agreement it was stated that "tailoring work is to continue" at Barhpur. The present course in tailoring for the boarding boys in Barhpur is supervised by Mrs. H. R. Ferger.

ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT OF ALLAHABAD CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

In 1908 the engineering course of Allahabad Christian College was opened in new quarters which had been built the year before. This was at first called the technical department. Mr. H. T. Avey, missionary from 1910 till 1922, a man of marked ability along technical lines, became head of this department soon after his arrival in India. He had visions of a first-class engineering school. One year the school had as many as twenty-nine boys. Although the 1914 report spoke encouragingly of the progress of the department, it seems that the very next year it had to be closed because of lack of students. Perhaps India was not ready to take advantage of technical training in such close proximity to B.A. and M.A. courses.

But technical and industrial training was not lost sight of, for it has always been a detail of the program of the Agricultural Institute. In 1924 a three years' apprentice course was opened on the other side of the Jumna at the A. A. Institute. This course, which is taught by Mason Vaughn, was planned for Christian boys "to prepare students

for service in the villages." It began with accommodation for sixteen boys and during these twelve years has made steady progress. Many boys have been well trained in farm mechanics, tractor-driving and general village repair work.⁴

CO-OPERATIVE BANKS

During the years of the Great World War the Y.M.C.A. extended its activities from the cities and educational centers to the rural areas. In 1918 the Mission asked the Y.M.C.A. to send a rural secretary for three years for work in Fatehgarh, Etah, Etawah, Mainpuri and Kasganj. At the same time a committee of three was appointed to develop co-operative credit societies, making use of the Christian Co-operative Credit Society of the United Provinces. The committee was instructed to "enquire into other ways of advancing the economic status of village Christians with a view to making the churches self-supporting."⁵

Mr. Sundar Lal became the rural secretary in our area and served two three-year terms, or until 1924. During that time a number of co-operative societies were opened for village preachers and teachers, two for Chamar converts in Etawah district and one for Etawah village sweeper Christians. This new form of rural service seemed to flourish during these six years.

In 1922, in anticipation of carrying on the work without the aid of a Y.M.C.A. secretary, the Joint Evangelistic Committee divided the territory into three areas, appointing the Rev. G. M. Richards to supervise the banks of Jhansi and Fatehgarh and Mr. Ibrahim to have charge of those in Etah and Kasganj. Mainpuri and Etawah was the third area but no supervisor was available at that time. At the same time W. H. Wiser, then on furlough, was asked to study economic problems and co-operative banking in America to prepare himself to "develop and supervise co-operative banking and village industries."⁶ When the Wisers returned from leave in the fall of 1923 they were located in Mainpuri, the geographical center of our village Christian population, and Mr. Wiser was appointed general supervisor of all of our village co-operative societies and was practically given *carte blanche* to develop the banks

and other rural schemes as he thought best. Within a year or two it was decided that several of the societies should be liquidated. W. H. Wiser in his history of these societies says:

Valiant efforts were made by C. D. Thompson, W. H. Hezlep and others to redeem the societies. Special awards were made to workers to encourage them to help. In October 1929, just ten years after its organization, the Christian Central Bank went into voluntary liquidation. On this occasion Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerji made a statement showing the steady decline of the bank during its second five years of existence, and the unsatisfactory condition of the associated societies, into many of which members had been admitted without adequate examination of their financial status. The bank, having to do with such a scattered constituency and with no properly trained staff, never was in a position to provide any effective control of the societies."

In carrying out the committee's wishes about further rural study the Wisers chose the village of Karimganj, five miles from Mainpuri. For five years (1925 till 1930) the Wiser family lived in tents in a grove near this village and studied all phases of village life. They made friends with all classes in the village. One result of their five years study is a book, *Behind Mud Walls in India*, published in 1932; this was followed by a technical work, *The Hindu Jajmani System*. In both of these books the Wisers have told many details of village life which were never before properly written up and incidentally they have become nationally known experts on India's rural problems.⁷ Mr. Wiser made briefer studies of most of our economic problems in our area and has done much to put the whole matter on a scientific basis.⁸

POULTRY RAISING AND GOAT BREEDING

For many years now the American supporters of missions have been acquainted with the term "missionaries in feathers," a phrase which originated in Etah and refers to A. E. Slater's poultry farm. Soon after the Slaters took up work in India they were fired with an ambition to help the good cause in what was at that time the most attractive and flourishing of our village fields, Etah. The decade previous to their joining forces had witnessed the phenomenal growth of that field, the history of which has already been recorded.

Accordingly in the fall of 1912 the Slaters were transferred from Allahabad, where they had come to serve on the staff of the Agricultural Institute, to their new field of Etah. Their first year in Etah they managed the boys' school and hostel. In 1913 the Mission approved Mr. Slater's appeal to Government for land and funds, "for the establishment and maintenance of a poultry and fruit farm at Etah as an aid in the conservation of the mass movement work."⁹ Land was secured adjoining the boys' school compound; quarters for poultry raising and a bungalow for the missionary in charge were erected by 1916 and soon a flourishing new industry was going. Mr. Slater's leave for war service caused an interruption for a short time in its normal development. Once back at work, Mr. Slater soon had things moving again and in 1921, after the Slaters' return from their first furlough, the Mission approved a six-point program for the rapid development of the poultry industry, not only in Etah villages but in all of our villages. At the same time an advisory committee was appointed to promote the work.

As a result of the distribution of eggs from imported hens there were in a few years hundreds of improved fowls in the villages. Mr. Slater developed markets for both chickens and eggs and established an annual poultry show in the headquarters at Etah. This annual event has been growing in size and popularity ever since 1912. Not only has there been Government support but in addition Governors and Viceroy's have recognized his services. In 1928 H. E. Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the United Provinces, was present at the annual exhibition and distributed the prizes. There are today branch poultry farms in several centers and fowls from our field take prizes at all the exhibitions in India.

In the 1914 report for Etah we read of "poultry farming, silk-worm culture and lace-making." The lace-making was taught in the widows' home which was later closed. The silk-worm culture has gone out of date. The poultry business flourishes and to some extent also the raising of fruit. Fruit trees and other shrubbery are necessary to make livable quarters for the poultry during the hot season.

Another slogan which Mr. Slater is now popularizing is "The poor man's cow," in other words, goats. In 1929

he imported from the United States four Swiss Toggenberg goats, three of which lived to help to start the new goat-raising industry. Government gave substantial aid in this new project and the goat-breeding industry is now in its seventh year of flourishing growth. In 1931-32 the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research made a recurring grant of Rs. 5,000. Mr. Slater believes that goats will supply milk for India's poor children, a very necessary element of food which has never been supplied in sufficient quantities by cows and buffaloes. The annual Government grant was renewed for a second five-year period.

From time to time there has been discussion of the promotion of village industries, something on a more simple basis which, once begun, would perpetuate itself. There is such an industry in Ranipur in the Jhansi District. About 1905 some three hundred weavers were baptized there and they were encouraged to continue their occupation of weaving. To be sure, some have lapsed back into Hinduism while others have left the village for the factory centers. The chief form of stimulation from the Mission side has been an effort to find a market for the plain dusting and washing-clothes which are made in Ranipur. W. H. Hezlep is in charge of this work and feels that it is quite worth while.

This recital of one hundred years of effort in industrial matters makes no claim to being a story of a century of steady progress. The early missionaries at Rakha found themselves facing responsibilities for which they considered themselves unprepared. In those days there was no discussion of village uplift and indigenous industries as we today understand those terms. We have definitely side-stepped the program of Rural Reconstruction as prepared in 1929 by Dr. K. L. Butterfield and the committee of the National Christian Council. It remains to be seen whether any part of the present industrial and village uplift program will develop along permanent lines.

This chapter does not deal directly with the biggest venture of all, namely the Allahabad Agricultural Institute. The history of that institution has been touched upon in another chapter. India is a land of farmers but so far most of our converts have been from among those who do not till

their own fields, even though they reside in the villages. If and when the time comes that our rural church is made up of actual farmers, then we may find ourselves face to face with problems which we have not even dreamed of as yet.¹⁰

REFERENCES

- ¹ See notes of J. J. LUCAS.
- ² 1906 *Report*, p. 26.
- ³ 1934 *General Board Minutes*, pp. 7-8.
- ⁴ See 1924 *Mission Minutes*.
- ⁵ 1918 *Mission Minutes*, pp. 10-11.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 1922, p. 39.
- ⁷ *Behind Mud Walls*, CHARLOTTE and W. H. WISER.
- ⁸ See *Self-Support in Village Churches in India*, 1931, pp. 16-28.
- ⁹ 1913 *Mission Minutes*, p. 18.
- ¹⁰ See *The Gospel and the Plow*, SAM HIGGINBOTTOM.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CHURCHES, THE CHURCH COUNCILS, AND THE HOME MISSION FIELDS

THE CHURCHES IN GENERAL

WHEN in 1931 Professor S. N. Talibuddin of Saharanpur and Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji of Allahabad were presented to the meeting of the centennial celebration of the Western Foreign Missionary Society in Pittsburgh, Mr. Talibuddin, who gave the response, spoke in part, as follows:

I can hear the whole assembly of believers in North India returning thanks to Him who through these last hundred years has called them to be partakers of the unsearchable riches of Christ and to be witnesses to His saving power in a land unaware of the supreme love of God. . . . Let the memories of the past drive you on to greater efforts; let the last century be the fore-runner of another century of still greater work and achievement. For the Church in India this is a day of introspection; today we pause to consider how far we have ourselves progressed along the road towards becoming a missionary Church.¹

The Mission report of 1907 contains this interesting information about the churches of that day:

There are 34 organized churches in connection with the work of the Mission and aside from these, 32 places of regular meeting. Of the churches, five are entirely self-supporting, all give with more or less liberality, to the upkeep of the churches and to other Christian work. The roll of full communicant members numbers 1,360 and the total number of baptized adherents is 11,540.

The Presbyteries of Allahabad and Farrukhabad, which include all of the churches connected with the Mission, each carry on a strong Presbyterian Mission work, and also help support all pastors whose churches are not strong enough to provide wholly for their pastors. The Presbyteries receive a grant from the Mission for all this work, that is, in proportion to the amount the churches contribute. Sunday School work and Christian Endeavor societies are carried on vigorously in most of the

churches. The total membership in the Sunday Schools (Christian and non-Christian) is 4,063.²

In 1934 Dr. J. J. Lucas paid his tribute to the church with which he has been associated for sixty-six years, when he wrote that,

The church that has given the writers of the forty hymns in *Bhajan Sangrah*, first published fifty years ago, in which the writers pour out in their mother-tongue their adoring love of the Lord Jesus—surely that church is not a poor church.³

Speaking of the whole Protestant Church in India, Bishop J. W. Robinson wrote in 1931:

The Christian community in India at present approximates five and a half million souls, and is growing steadily if not rapidly. Its influence among the population as a whole is far greater than its relative size would lead the casual observer to imagine. The impact of its doctrines and customs is working a remarkable revolution in the intellectual attitude and moral life of the nation as a whole. When this community effectively passes beyond the stage of scattered convert groups and develops into the living organization of a self-conscious Church, self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting, it will indeed become the leaven that will leaven the entire lump, and we will begin to realize the answer of the prayer of every earnest Christian—"Thy Kingdom Come."⁴

The Church History Association of India, Burma and Ceylon was organized in February 1935. The first bulletin of this association stated that one of its objects is to "stimulate research in Church History, especially in the history of the churches in India, Burma and Ceylon," and further "to perpetuate the memory of pioneers and leaders of the Church in India."⁵ Perhaps this chapter on the churches may make a small contribution toward these aims.

In a recent letter from America a request comes to "give a fresh estimate of the existing Church in your area, its self-consciousness, its promise of permanence, its enlargement of life, its special needs, and the effective relation of the Mission to it."⁶ These goals are also to be kept before us in this chapter.

This introduction concludes with a statement from the jubilee history of fifty years ago. It runs thus:

One of the most interesting and important acts of the

General Assembly of the United States, at its meeting in May 1841, was that of constituting the missionary brethren connected with the Presbyterian Church in India into Presbyteries, the "bishops" of each mission being organized into the Presbyteries of Ludhiana, Allahabad and Farrukhabad, with provision for their meeting together as the Synod of North India. . . . The year 1845 is memorable as the year in which the first Synod was held in India. The place of meeting was Fatehgarh, and the first session was held on the fifteenth of November in the chapel of the orphanage. The sermon was preached by the Rev. James Wilson who was elected moderator. James L. Scott was elected stated clerk.⁷

The second meeting of Synod was held in Agra in December 1848. In recent years the Synod has waned while the Presbytery (Church Council) has waxed.

FARRUKHABAD AND ALLAHABAD CHURCH COUNCILS, FORMERLY CALLED PRESBYTERIES

Farrukhabad Church Council has been an organization since 1841 or 1842. The number of charter members could not have been more than four or five. Gopi Nath Nundy, the first Indian to receive ordination, was ordained by this Presbytery in December 1844. J. F. Ullman, famous Christian apologist, hymn-writer and translator, was ordained by Farrukhabad Presbytery in 1849. R. E. Munnis, another American missionary, received ordination in this Presbytery about 1850.

There are at present nine central churches, the dates of whose organization cover a period of eighty years. The number of village churches has fluctuated but was at its peak about 1914. With the exception of Agra we have withdrawn from no place where a central church was organized. Gwalior, in the beginning, was a part of Farrukhabad Presbytery as was also Etawah.

Unfortunately the extant records of this Presbytery date only from 1906. From 1906 till 1924 semi-annual meetings were held and a new moderator was elected every six months. From 1925 on annual meetings have been held with the moderator serving for one year. During this period of thirty years sixteen of the forty-nine moderators were Indians. The stated clerks for the period were as follows:

1906-08 Ray C. Smith	1917-20 W. T. Mitchell
1908-10 W. T. Mitchell	1920-26 Bhikari Ial
1910-14 Masih Charan	1926-36 G. D. Knox
1914-17 J. H. Lawrence	

The General Assembly statistics for 1932 show thirty members of Farrukhabad Church Council, of whom nine were Americans. Of the twenty-one Indian ordained members one was residing outside the field, three were retired and three were engaged in school and hospital work. The others were listed as pastors although most of them were not regularly installed pastors of individual churches. The 1936 roll is made up of thirty-four names of whom twenty-five are Indians, the gain of four members all being Indian preachers. There are women elders. The Bewar Home Mission Field is under the supervision of Farrukhabad Church Council. After the formation in 1925 of the United Church of Northern India it was recommended that the name Church Council be substituted for that of Presbytery but "Presbytery" is still commonly used.

By the edict of the American General Assembly of May 1841 both the Farrukhabad and Allahabad Presbyteries came into being. Both Presbyteries had been constituted before June 1842.⁸ There must have been only two churches (Jumna and Katra) at the time of forming Allahabad Presbytery. Beginning with a very small geographical area its length is now about 350 miles. Like landholdings in this country, its territory is not consolidated; rather it is composed of four or five disconnected areas.

There are ten central churches of which two are in Jhansi and four in Allahabad. Banda, from which we withdrew after three or four years, never had an organized church. With the exception of chaplaincies the Farrukhabad Church Council area is exclusively Presbyterian territory, while in the case of Allahabad, other churches exist in Jhansi, Cawnpore and Allahabad. With the possible exception of Ranipur and Barwa Sagar there are no village churches in the Allahabad area. Since the records of the Church Council go back only to 1917 we are unable to tell the total membership of the Council from its beginning. Previous to 1917 we have only bits of information. Masih Charan was

moderator in 1892-93. Prabhu Datt was moderator in 1901-02. The duties of stated clerk have been performed by

Edwin R. Fitch 1920-21

W. H. Hezlep

A. Ralla Ram

Bhikari Lal 1934-36

The General Assembly statistics for 1932 contain twenty-nine members on the roll of the Allahabad Church Council. Of these, eighteen were Indians of whom four were listed as retired and six as pastors. The roll of 1936 contains only fifteen Indian members, the loss being due to transfers to Farrukhabad Church Council. Losses by death were one in 1925 and one in 1929. One man was defrocked in 1925.

In March 1932 Miss Gaikwad of Fatehpur had the honor of being the first woman elder ever to be seated by Allahabad Church Council. The second was Mrs. E. F. Sturgis of Morar, Gwalior, who was a commissioner in 1935.⁹ Allahabad Presbytery never had the custom of semi-annual meetings. Since the U.S.A.'s General Assembly order of 1932 the missionary members of both Church Councils have also been bona-fide members as well of some Presbytery in the United States. Sirathu was formerly a home mission field under the Allahabad Church Council.

According to the letters of James McEwen a church was organized in Allahabad in October 1838. According to Mrs. Holcomb's history "a native church was organized at Allahabad" in July 1840 and the first baptism was administered this same year. This year, according to Mrs. Holcomb, also witnessed the beginning of a regular Sunday service in the Hindustani language. It is difficult to decide whether the earlier of these dates can be accepted as the date of organization of the Jumna Church.

The renovated mint building of the East India Company was the first place of worship of the group organized in 1840. The present Jumna Church was erected in 1846 and its dedication ceremonies were held on New Year's Day, 1847. The church bell was damaged in the Mutiny of 1857. A house was purchased in 1911 and remodelled into a parsonage.

Two elders were mentioned in connection with the organization of 1838. No mention of the number of elders

is given in the account of 1840. There is no complete roll of all these who have during the century been privileged to serve as elders in this church. The present elders are:

J. E. Jacob
E. C. Bhatt
H. K. Herbert

N. Ojha
Sam Higginbottom
W. B. Hayes

James Wilson was installed pastor in February 1843 and served until 1846 when he was succeeded by John E. Freeman, martyr, who built the present Jumna Church. We do not know just how long Freeman acted as pastor. Nor do the records reveal who the pastors were during the long period up till about 1900. We assume that other missionaries were installed in turn, or that the custom of installing missionaries was dropped and that for years any missionary residing in Jumna compound acted as pastor. The last Missionary pastor was Arthur H. Ewing, 1902-8. Other pastors were:

Malcolm Lewis
Isaac Fieldbrave
Martin Thomas 1908-12

Moel C. David 1912-
A. Ralla Ram 1919-28

The Rev. John Z. Zamen has been pastor since 1930. The church has been self-supporting for about thirty years. The 1911 report stated that the church was then ready to assume full responsibility for the pastor's salary.

The church activities include Sunday School classes for children and adults, a Students' Union, a Women's Society and the support of its own home mission pastor. Since 1 January 1936 Rev. C. H. Hazlett has been student pastor in charge of the Sunday morning English Services. Unfortunately, in 1928, the church records, whatever they were, disappeared. The Jumna Church has often acted as host to Allahabad Presbytery and also several times to the General Assembly. This congregation has taken a leading part in providing accommodation for many groups such as the Student Quadrennial Conference, the U.P. Christian Council, and many others.

Katra Church was organized in December 1871. For many years previous to that date there had existed a worshipping group in Katra. They worshipped in a small chapel

built by Joseph Warren, the first missionary in Katra. The corner stone of the present church building was laid in August 1900 and it was dedicated in March or April 1901. J. M. Alexander, the local missionary at that time, was largely instrumental in the erection of this edifice which cost about 8,000 rupees. Bethel hostel, an adjunct to the church, was built in 1914 by J. J. Lucas, from local funds.

There are so many gaps in the record that we are unable to form a roll of elders. J. C. Jordan was an elder from 1871 till about 1908. The present session is composed of six or seven very able men of whom one, Dr. B. K. Mukerji, is the stated clerk. As in the case of Jumna, missionaries were often in charge as pastors and moderators. The list of Indian pastors is as follows:

J. J. Caleb	1872-93	A. Ralla Ram	1915-18
Isaac Fieldbrave	1899-1911	Sukh Lal	1919-30

The Rev. D. W. Tiwari, a graduate of Bareilly Seminary, has been pastor since April, 1933.

In 1911 the communicant members numbered eighty-six and the total congregation was about 300. There has been considerable growth since that time. The church program includes Sunday School, Christian Endeavor, Women's Society and other auxiliaries. In 1911 J. J. Lucas wrote of the pastor Isaac Fieldbrave: "In May Mr. Fieldbrave the pastor was compelled by illness to resign. He is the author or translator of many of the most popular hymns sung in the churches of North India. His services as pastor were greatly appreciated by the people" (1911 Report, p. 5). For several years the Katra Session has been the mission's agent in managing the Christian village on Katra compound. The Allahabad pastors belong to a Pastors' conference under the leadership of the Bishop of Lucknow.

The date of the organization of the Fatehpur Church lies in obscurity. A letter dated February 1855 made mention of a newly organized church. As early as 1838 Judge R. T. Tucker and Gopi Nath Nundy were active church workers there. Dr. Madden opened his orphanage there in 1832 and there must have been a worshipping group from that time forward. Fatehpur Church has had the services of twenty-four elders in all. In 1931 Mrs. Dibra Lall and

Miss P. S. Gaekwar were elected elders, thus becoming the first women elders within Allahabad Church Council. The present session record book has been in use since 1878. The elders now serving are:

Beni Prasad
Mr. Kinder

A. R. Pinto
Miss P. S. Gaekwar

These have been pastors of Fatehpur:

Param Sukh	1878	Dharmjit Singh	1914
Gulam Masih	1890	Paremeshwari Dass	1920
G. R. Chaube	1909	Prabhu Datt	1924

There were gaps in between some of the above pastoral terms. The Rev. B. T. Tompkinson has been the pastor since 1926. The membership is less than one hundred. The church carries on a Sunday School, has a Women's Society and other activities. The missionaries, ladies and Indian nurses of the Woman's Union Zenana Hospital are members and supporters of this church. Property in Fyzabad, which was given to Fatehpur Church by Gopi Nath Nundy's son, is held in trust by the Mission for the church.

In March 1863 the Etawah Church was organized with thirteen charter members. J. F. Ullman collected funds locally and built a small chapel on the corner of the compound, which was used for worship for some years and then sold. The church built in the city about 1870 was given in exchange to the Municipality about 1917. At present the Etawah Christians have no proper place of worship. For years the Sunday worship was held on the verandah of the large mission bungalow but in recent years the people meet in the library in the city. Etawah Church records are complete from the beginning. Much has been said about them in the chapter on Mission work. Nabi Bakhsh was installed pastor in March 1872. Others followed him. For years the church has had no regularly installed pastor. The work has been sustained by local men acting as pastors usually with the local missionary as moderator of the session.

The Morar Church was organized by Joseph Warren in 1875. This organization was allowed to lapse and all records were accidentally burned in 1915. The church was reorganized in November 1933. Mrs. Warren began the

erection of the church in 1882 on land given by the government of India. The unfinished building was first used for worship on 15 October 1882. This building is located on the main road which in those days connected the Morar and Jhansi cantonments and is just opposite the station of the Gwalior Light Railway. After Mrs. Warren's death in 1901 the late Madho Maharajah gave 1,500 rupees which were used to roof the church. In 1905 Mission funds were used to put in a floor and doors and windows. Thus the building took more than twenty years for its completion.

The present session was constituted in November 1933 and the elders are:

B. Wilson
Barkat Masih

Joseph John
Mrs. E. F. Sturgis

The church has never enjoyed the services of a regularly installed pastor. Since his ordination in March 1920 the Rev. R. Otto has acted as pastor but is not stated supply. Walter L. Allison is the present moderator of the session. Twenty-six members united to form the new church in 1933. Over the front door, inscribed in Hindi and Urdu, are these words: "Sabbath-School for all children." This school, carried on for years by Mrs. Warren, is made up largely of Hindu and Muhammedan children.

The church in Jhansi City was organized in March 1890. The church building, situated on the edge of the city quite apart from the Mission compound, was built in 1888 but was not dedicated till the autumn of 1902. A reading room is an integral part of the building. Joined to it is the building which was used for the girls' school until its closing in 1935.

The present members of the session are:

Peter Paul
M. L. Paul

R. C. Collinson
Darshan Prasad

The former pastors and some of the dates are as follows:

Nabi Bakhsh
Prabhu Datt
Masih Charan 1910-20

Yusuf Khan
B. D. Wilson
Charles Matthews 1933-35

Mr. J. N. Bhatta, a 1935 theological graduate, has been the pastor since the spring of 1935. The communicant

members number ninety with a total constituency of 178. There are a Sunday School, Christian Endeavor Society and a Women's Society. The village church at Barwa-Sagar, eleven miles from Jhansi, is under the management of the Jhansi Church.

The Sipri Church in Jhansi was organized in April 1905. The first and only building was erected in 1910. The steepleless tower of the church is visible from the G.I.P. Railway. In addition to the auditorium there is a room which is used for Sunday School classes and for social gatherings.

The present elders are:

E. Thompson 1910

John Otto

John S. Dass

S. K. B. Lal

The pastors have been as follows:

M. P. Mukerji

Yusuf Khan

J. Alexander

B. D. Wilson

Masih Charan

Yusuf Khan is the present pastor. There are 56 communicants with a total constituency of 131. The usual auxiliary societies are found in the Sipri Church including a women's organization. The members are either employed in the railway or are engaged in their own private business. Sipri and Jhansi Churches have at times been served by one and the same pastor.

The date of the organization of the Cawnpore Church is 1900. The main room of the building was constructed in 1918 and enlarged in 1928. The pastor's house was built in 1931. Cawnpore has had the pastoral services of:

Masih Charan

Mr. Benjamin

M. C. David

Nek Chand

C. D. Wishard

The Rev. Samuel L. Titus, a graduate of Bareilly Seminary, has been the pastor since 1932. The church membership is now about 135 with a much larger constituency. It has been practically self-supporting since 1915.

The church in connection with the Leper Asylum at Naini, Allahabad and Home for untainted children has for several years been under the pastorate of Parmeshwari Das.

In 1935 a new church, probably to be known as the Naini Church, was organized. This church is under the general oversight of Mr. and Mrs. Mason Vaugh of the Agricultural Institute. John Z. Zamen is the moderator of the session.

The Rakha Church at Fatehgarh was organized sometime in 1841. Gopi Nath Nundy was the only elder elected at that time. The nucleus of the first congregation was seventy-four orphans whose baptism had taken place in 1839. The first meeting place was in what was called the chapel of the orphanage. The large and handsome church erected by J. J. Walsh in 1856 was badly damaged by the Mutineers the very next year. Robert S. Fullerton salvaged the walls and had the church restored as soon as possible. The restoration was celebrated by a rededication.

The Rakha Church has had a long list of elders some of whom were: Gopi Nath, Prem Masih, Mul Chand and Thomas Scott. A great deal of biographical material is available which tells much about several of the Rakha families. The Rev. G. M. Richards copied some of this material for use in this history. Some of the descendants of Thomas Scott are to be found in the community today. There is a long list of sons and daughters who gave their lives in Christian service. If ever a novelist arises who wishes to find rich material for the story of one of the early local churches, he or she will be well advised to imbibe the traditional lore of Rakha.

Reference has already been made to the Memorial Tablet on the wall of this church commemorating the martyrdom of Dhokal Parsad and eight missionaries. The former met death in Fatehgarh while the latter were shot in Cawnpore. If the future novelist wishes an illustration of the proverb: 'The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church,' he will find it here. In 1936 Miss A. Abdul Qadir was elected the first woman elder of Rakha.

Records fail to reveal the date of the organization of the Farrukhabad Church, now called the Barhpur Church. J. J. Walsh, in his detailed history of the station up to 1857, made special mention of the Rakha organization, but no reference to any other local organization. Mrs. Holcomb wrote of a regular Sunday evening service held in the girls'

school-house in the city, this service dating from February 1859. But she makes no mention of a church being organized. The report of 1865 named Farrukhabad as one of the organized churches and also gave its members as 39 in number.

Later the place of worship was shifted to the boys' school-house. The city church, built by C. A. R. Janvier and dedicated in 1893, naturally became the sanctuary for this congregation and continued as such until Barhpur compound became the center of activities, and perhaps even longer. For years the congregation has regularly worshipped in what was built for the boarding-house chapel, a building erected about 1904.

A few of the former elders were: Lala Har Prasad, John Hostan, Lachman Prasad, Sant Prasad and Hira Lal. Mohan Lal, a Brahman convert, was ordained in April 1874 and at the same time was installed pastor of this church. Subsequently R. R. Chitambar, Gulam Masih and others carried on the duties of preaching and pastoral work but there is no record of any installations for a long period. The present pastor is the Rev. John Harris Paul, a graduate of Bangalore United Theological College, with the degree of B.D. The church maintains the usual auxiliary societies. Recently for a period of two or three years the session was responsible for the daily preaching held in the city church. There were several pastorates which were not very successful. In 1936 Mrs. A. Gordon was chosen the first woman elder of the Barhpur Church.

In 1863 twelve people were drawn together and formed a little congregation in Mainpuri. Hulas Roy was the one and only elder chosen at that time. After worshipping for some years in a mud chapel on the compound the congregation built a church in the city in 1881, under the leadership of J. M. Alexander. This new edifice was dedicated and used for some years, but in 1907 was sold. Since that time the worshippers have met either in the high school building or in the chapel of the Central Training School, the latter place being the present place of meeting. Several hundred rupees are on hand towards the cost of a new church. A home for the pastor was erected in 1932.

This Church has had some twenty elders of whom two or three were later ordained to the Gospel ministry. The present elders are:

R. W. Thomas
G. J. Mall
Piyare Lall

Jiwan Masih
Miss M. A. Dennis

Among those who have served as pastors we find the names of

Sukh Lal 1905
J. M. Maclean

C. A. Kalim 1923
P. S. Lal 1925
Harbhan Singh 1930-1934

Mr. Hayat Khan after serving one year as stated supply was called to the pastorate in 1936. The membership is 69. The church organizations include an adult Sunday School, a Junior Sunday School and four Christian Endeavor Societies.

The organization of the Etah Church, effected by J. J. Lucas and R. R. Chitambar in 1884, seemed to lapse and had to be reorganized about 1897. Bishop Chitambar's mother is the first name on the roll of charter members of that church. The original Mission building is today in use as the place of worship. In 1912 a considerable amount of money was donated by an American friend but a part of that money was lost. The remainder of it, together with many other gifts, large and small, is held today and will be used to help meet the expenses of a new building, the cornerstone for which was laid by Dr. H. C. Velte in 1932, the location being just east of the girls' school.

Some of the early pastors were:

R. R. Chitambar
Prabhu Datt

Kyayali Ram
Masih Charan

In 1903 John Forman wrote in his report: "We praise the Lord for giving our church Rev. Prabhu Datt, a pastor of strong convictions, independence, force of character, ability to lead, and a great love for the kingdom. Another of God's gifts to the Etah Church is our elder and Sunday School superintendent, George McLean, whose life, piety and earnestness are a blessing to our community."¹³

The church has been shepherded by Kanhaiya Lal since 1933. The membership had reached one hundred as early

as 1903, but that figure included the village Christians as well. In 1913 the eighteen village groups were united with the Etah Central Church and were then called branches. For years Etah Church held the banner for the number of students studying in the Saharanpur Theological Seminary. Since 1934 this church has been responsible for the evangelistic work of 35 villages in the near vicinity of Etah.

Jalesar, for years considered a branch of the Etah Central Church, was organized independently in 1918. This parish is comprised of Jalesar 'thana', a subdivision of Etah Township (Tahsil). Land has been secured and funds have been collected for a church building which is soon to be erected. Jalesar has had ten elders altogether and at present has two. There are 311 communicant members and nearly two thousand baptized adherents living in 98 villages. The Rev. Sukh Lal after useful service as a teacher in Mainpuri and a successful pastorate in Katra, Allahabad, was appointed superintendent in charge of Jalesar, 1930. Mr. and Mrs. Sukh Lal were both members of the Joint Evangelistic Committee and at present are members of the General Board. They have four men assistants and one or two Bible-women.

The Kasganj Church came into corporate being in 1912. In 1922 a modest building was erected on the edge of the Mission compound. The elders are: Itwari Lal, Chuni Lal and Ram Prasad. The following have acted in the capacity of pastor:

M. C. Daniels	1916-20	Sukh Dass	1931-32
Karm Ilahi	1920-25		

Mr. Samuel Lloyd has been acting pastor since 1933 and plans have been made for his ordination and installation as regular pastor. The members are few.

The Kaimganj Church has been in existence for a great many years. There is no dedicated place of worship. The members meet in a building which is also used for school purposes. There are six elders, four of whom are Mission employees. The pastoral duties are usually looked after by one of the ordained men in Mission employ. The attendance varies from 15 to 60. The monthly offerings average twelve rupees. It is difficult to say whether Kaimganj is a central church or a village church for it has some of the

characteristics of both. There are no organized village churches in Kaimganj township. This church is practically self-supporting.

Shikohabad is a Mission station and hence may be considered a central church. It has five elders. In the regular services of worship a written form is used and a gown is worn by the leader. Nine hundred rupees had been collected towards the erection of a church which was completed in 1937.

GRANTS TO PRESBYTERIES

Beginning about 1898 a plan of grants-in-aid to the two Presbyteries was initiated. This was based on a ratio between American funds and local funds, and in the beginning the Mission allocated three rupees American money for every rupee raised in India.

Somehow or other these designated funds remained under the control of the Mission. This fact is clear from the action of 1904 when a committee was appointed "to consider the question of handing over to the Presbyteries the control of funds now expended by the Mission for all Evangelistic agents." The committee reported that "the present grant-in-aid scheme seems to be working well."

The allocation to Farrukhabad Presbytery in 1903-04 showed a two to one ratio. The action of 1906 was intended to make the Mission grant two annas less for the next four years. By 1913 the grant to Farrukhabad Presbytery seems to have been discontinued entirely.

The grant to Allahabad Presbytery, which in 1915 was above six thousand rupees per annum, was put on a scale of progressive reduction at the diminishing rate of two annas per year. The last such grant to Allahabad Presbytery was for 1922-23 when the amount was thirty-two hundred rupees.

During the years that the grant-in-aid system was in force the evangelistic workers (at least in Farrukhabad Presbytery) were called Stated Supplies and their supervision, grades, transfers, etc., were matters handled by Presbytery.

VILLAGE CHURCHES

"Its self-consciousness" mentioned in the early part of this chapter, can scarcely be asserted of any of our village

churches. "Its promise of permanence" we boldly believe in and work for. "Its enlargement of life" we may well state as one of "its special needs."

The following *resume* of our village churches follows largely the reports of 1934. The two points of Karma and Sirsa, south of Allahabad, are preaching centers and worship centers for small groups, but have not attained to organized bodies. The few scattered village Christians in Fatehpur District are related to the Central Church. The one township of Cawnpore District under our management contains no village churches. Gwalior has neither village churches nor village Christians. In Jhansi there are groups which meet for regular worship in six rural centers. Ranipur has a meeting place and the group is shepherded by the Rev. S. Crowthers. Although at present there is no organized church in any of these places, there are five ordained elders living and serving in four of the places. Etawah's only church is in the central station.

Farrukhabad Church Council, the field of the Mass Movement, has of course several village churches, but the number is not now as large as it once was. Jasrana Church in the Shikohabad end has five elders. The rest of Mainpuri District (exclusive of Shikohabad and Bewar) has no organized church, but reports several groups of regular worshippers. Etah (exclusive of Jalesar and Kasganj) has seven organized churches watched over by twenty-five elders. Kasganj field possesses four village parishes cared for by fifteen elders. Of these the congregation at Soron has a place of worship which was built some thirty years ago by the Church Missionary Society. Fatehgarh-Farrukhabad, the mother-station, has eight village congregations under the spiritual care of the twenty-eight elders. Although the dreams and ambitions of predecessors have not been realized, nevertheless we dare not speak slightly of what God hath wrought in our midst. The Church is here to stay and with Christ as its head, it cannot fail.

A few points of interest remain to be mentioned. A few years ago Mr. Lawrence built a model village church on the ground of the Central Training School in Mainpuri. Some leaders are using a simple order of service prepared by

J. H. Lawrence, while others follow a similar program of worship prepared by M. S. Pinkerton. A small book of prayers in Hindi was prepared by W. H. Hezlep. The hymn-book published by E. G. Parker has been widely used. J. E. Wallace, A. W. Moore and possibly others have within very recent years worn a simple gown at times of worship and also have used a simple outfit for worship in the villages. Self-support is still a very much discussed and vexatious problem. About four years ago E. G. Parker began a Land-Parish experiment with one of the village preachers in Farrukhabad. This experiment is still going on and also others both in Farrukhabad and Etah Districts. In many places modern courses have been taught to villagers as a preparation for eldership in the hope that such men might become able leaders without having to leave home for training. As yet there are very few graduates of this course, but several have learned at least a part of the course. In several places village committees (panchayats) have been set up to assist the local church session in its effort to make the Church all things to all men and thoroughly furnished for every good work.

In spite of slow growth, in spite of disappointed hopes, in spite of the vision tarrying, in spite of the apparent feebleness of the new Christian Society, the heaven is at work, disciples have been made, the Kingdom of God is coming into being and the Church in our field is on its way to that "enlargement of life" which shall result in a new society in which all men are brothers in Christ. The prospects for this Church are as bright as the promises of God.

BEWAR

The Bewar Home Mission Field comprises more than three hundred square miles of territory lying between Mainpuri and Farrukhabad. Work is carried on in about eighty villages, in ten of which are inquirers from among the Chamars. In 1902 this was first set aside as a home mission field but at that time there was practically no change in the administration of the work. In 1906 a church was organized in Bewar; Abdul Qadir was the first moderator of the session while B. Likha Singh was one of the elders. In the early

days two Mainpuri men, Gulam Masih and Sukh Lal, were very keen in pushing this new work which was now entirely under the control of Farrukhabad Presbytery.

About 1905 Presbytery established a Home Mission Board of eight members, among whom two of the most enthusiastic were Sukh Lal and John Forman. Up until 1920 the work made slow but steady progress. Then ensued a lack of interest and the work was more or less neglected. In those days the annual budget ran to about 350 rupees and there were usually three, sometimes four, workers in the field.

In 1923 Presbytery decided to do away with the Home Mission Field Board and sought some better way of administering the field. The next year the Rev. Janki Parsad who was at that time in Mission service in Bhogaon was elected superintendent of Bewar Home Mission. He took charge of the work on 1 January 1924, and still carries on this work in a very acceptable way. At present he has two assistants who are teachers.

There are two organized churches with seven elders in all and four unorganized groups. There are as yet no church buildings. Mrs. McLean, the widow of Rev. Gulam Masih, has for years contributed fifteen rupees annually to the support of this work.

SIRATHU

Sirathu is one of the divisions of the Allahabad District and lies west of the city on the East India Railway. Formerly the evangelistic missionaries resident in Allahabad toured in this country but no tangible things resulted from their efforts. About 1900 the field was made into a home mission field and became the responsibility of Allahabad Presbytery. The work was maintained but did not grow. In 1925 the National Missionary Society took charge of the work and the Rev. Bhikari Lal became the superintendent. Still all the accumulated years of witness brought no results in the form of an ingathering. In 1936 it was taken up again with a view to abandoning the field for a more hopeful one. Bhikari Lal is still in charge and has done yeoman service in a very difficult field. Collections for the work have been difficult in recent years.

NOTE: Soon after the above was written the work was closed. Bhikari Lal took up service in Etawah while the N.M.S. opened a new field in Firozabad.

REFERENCES

¹ *Centennial of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, 1831-1931*, pp. 127, 128.

² *1907 Report*, pp. 24, 25.

³ *History of the North India Tract and Book Society*, J. J. LUCAS, 1934, p. 99.

⁴ *Self-support in Village Churches in India, 1931*. Introduction.

⁵ See Bulletin, February 1936.

⁶ *Board General Letter No. 57*, Feb. 5, 1936. Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

⁷ *History of our A.P. Missions*, HOLCOMB, pp. 114, 115.

⁸ See *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, 1842.

⁹ See *Church Council Minutes*.

¹⁰ See *Makhzan-i-Masihi*, 1906.

¹¹ *Annual Mission Report of 1911*, p. 5.

¹² *Mission Minutes of 1928*, p. 23.

¹³ Page 7.

Also other notes, letters and reports.

CHAPTER XIX

THE WORK OF OTHER MISSIONS IN CERTAIN OF OUR STATIONS

In the early days of Missions in India there was no comity arrangement regarding the division of territory. When Missions came to realize the need for such comity, they found themselves already fairly well intrenched in most of the cities, so that the best that the Societies could do was to work harmoniously side by side in the cities and to divide up the rural areas for exclusive ministry. Hence we find strong work being done by other Societies in four of the cities occupied by us Presbyterians. In this chapter we shall give a brief account of this work.

Allahabad is the normal place to begin such a history. This "City of gods" (its old Hindi name is Prayag) is the Cathedral City of the Diocese of Lucknow. Mr. C. F. Andrews is author of the statement that the Allahabad Cathedral is the most beautiful in India. Surely it is a magnificent sanctuary, one in which the element of beauty quickly turns one's soul to worship. The Baptists, working up the river from Carey's base of operation, must have been the very first to establish any religious work in Allahabad. A Baptist minister then working in Allahabad strongly urged our people to stop there, and the invitation was accepted and our work opened in 1836. There is today a Baptist Church and a fairly large congregation in Allahabad.

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

The Church Missionary Society began work in Allahabad in 1813 when it sent there one, Abdul Masih, a Moslem convert who was the first Indian to receive Anglican orders. The work grew steadily from the beginning. Today the part of Allahabad called Muirabad is made up largely of members of the Anglican (now Church of India) Church. In addition to the Cathedral, Trinity Church spire also

reaches heavenward giving its testimony to that deed on the "green hill far away."

For years this Mission was well known for its work through the Oxford and Cambridge hostel, a home for students built in the very shadow of the University. Dr. Sam Higginbottom refers to it in the following terms:

The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel was begun by Mr. Manly, a distinguished English scholar. The Rev. W. E. Holland joined him about 1902. Later extensions of the University placed the Hostel right in the center of the University campus. It is to be regretted that owing to the financial stringency the most has not been made of this unique opportunity. Carl D. Thompson, loaned to the University to be head of the department of economics, has for years kept the Holland Hall Hostel going, financially.¹

A fuller word about this institution is to be found in C. F. Andrews' history. It runs thus:

The Churchmen within the Student Volunteer Missionary Movement in England had been stirred to undertake new work among the students of India, and chose Allahabad for their center. At first the new venture was "extensive" in character, and took something of the form of a London settlement. Games, reading-rooms, lectures, etc. were organized, at which any student of the University who pleased might present himself, and come into friendly intercourse with the young missionaries. But the experience of the Oxford group in Calcutta repeated itself, and the efforts soon became concentrated on a hostel, where the closest personal touch with a limited number of under-graduates could be obtained.

In Allahabad the dearth of boarding accommodation in the University has been nothing like so great as in Calcutta, and twice over in its short career a boycott of the Oxford and Cambridge missionaries has been carried out by Hindus, which seemed likely to prove fatal to the work. The more recent boycott must be described in the Warden's own words:—

"In August 1905 political feeling was running very high. Indian opinion had been greatly excited about the partition of Bengal, and was manifesting itself in the organized boycott of everything English. At the time six or seven men were on the verge of conversion. This led to an agitation against Bible reading on the score that it was disloyal to their own religion. All but two signed a contract not to read the Bible with us. At the time 24 out of 36 boys were reading with us. The ringleaders were the very two men who had been nearest decision, men of real gifts of leadership. This was followed by an effort to break

down discipline. The whole was aggravated by bitter racial feeling. Faith and love broke down the opposition and the leaders asked forgiveness for what they had done. One of them later became a Christian'.²

Our Board bought this hostel in 1923 and renamed it Holland Hall in honor of Rev. William E. Holland who had been a leader in it during the early days. C. D. Thompson and Professor N. C. Mukerji, the latter a teacher of philosophy in the university, have been colleagues in the supervision of the work in Holland Hall. Professor Thompson was obliged to leave the work in 1935 and his place has not yet been filled. Kenneth Jardine did a splendid piece of work in this center for about four years, but was obliged to return to England with his motherless children, in 1934.

WORK OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN CAWNPORE

In 1883, at the request of the Military Chaplain and others, the Rev. J. J. Carshore was sent to Cawnpore to begin Christian work for his society. On his arrival he found five schools already organized and supported by the English residents. These schools accommodated about one hundred and seventy boys. At that time the population of Cawnpore was about one hundred thousand, the Hindus exceeding the Muhammedans by about three to one. By 1835 the small congregation had doubled. In 1841 there were six schools not counting the orphanage for girls. In 1841 W. H. Perkins took charge of the work. There were sixty-two baptisms in 1840. In 1846 the headquarters were moved to Asrapur. A colony of Christians came from Colonelganj and settled here. At the time of the Mutiny in 1857 the work was going steadily and well. After S. B. Burrell took charge in 1859 both English and Hindustani services were established in Christ Church. Bazar preaching was opened in eight places and a year or two later the orphan asylum was reopened.

In 1892 the higher education of the growing city came into the hands of missionaries in the event of opening college classes. The college work was raised to a B.A. standard in 1896 and by 1900 classes for M.A. students had also been

provided for. In 1896 a hostel for non-Christian boys was opened and in the following year new college buildings were completed and dedicated. M. Wilkinson, who published an account of his tour of India in 1844, wrote of the good work of those early days and of the fine response and good progress of both the boys and girls.³

The following statement from C. F. Andrews is interesting:

Cawnpore, some four hours journey from Allahabad, is becoming one of the great manufacturing and railway centers of India. The work of the Church has steadily progressed and is now (1908) spreading to the district round.

The S.P.G. Mission owes its present strong position to the sons of Bishop Westcott. Foss Westcott, during his lifetime in the Brotherhood, made the industrial side of the Mission justly famous. He rendered most valuable service on the Government Industrial Commission. It was interesting to go over the shops and see English working-men doing a noble missionary work in training Indian Christian boys to labor with their hands. In the Plague Riots of 1900 the Westcotts saved the situation and prevented bloodshed.

I saw the admirable Zenena Hospital where the doctors and nurses labored through the terrible times of plague, and where Indian and English Christian workers sacrificed their lives in ministering to plague and cholera patients. The whole impression of the Mission has been to me that of men and women who are trying to grapple with the varied problems of modern India, and to meet them not on one side only but on many sides, and dealing with all classes.⁴

The zenana hospital was opened in 1899 and is situated halfway between Memorial Church and Memorial Well, the two Christian monuments that mark the scenes of the former and latter sufferings of Christian women whose deaths, it is hoped, will be nobly avenged by Christian devotion shown in these efforts to lighten the sufferings of non-Christian women. In 1901 Mr. Pascoe wrote that the "excellence and thoroughness of the organization and work of Cawnpore" were producing "striking results."⁵

From the beginning definite evangelistic work has also been a part of the program of the S.P.G. Churches were built and groups were organized in the city as well as in some of the rural communities. In 1896 a branch of the Brother-

hood was established in Cawnpore by Bishop Westcott, already mentioned.

Reference is often made to the fact that in 1806 and for a year or two thereafter Henry Martyn, the famous Persian student and Bible translator, lived in Cawnpore. A local monument records this fact. In 1934 the work of the S.P.G. and associated groups was being furthered by five men and eight ladies together with their many Indian colleagues and assistants. Only the men are members of the Brotherhood, but all the work is under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

THE WOMAN'S UNION MISSIONARY SOCIETY

In 1908 the American Presbyterian Mission invited the Woman's Union Missionary Society to open medical work in Jhansi, for women and children. The offer was accepted and Dr. Alice Ernst, then located in Calcutta, was transferred to Jhansi to initiate the new work. The Holcombs of Jhansi aided in procuring land which was purchased in 1900. Later, evangelistic work became a part of the program and today both kinds of work are being maintained. The units of service in 1936 were: the hospital for women and children, city dispensaries, nurses' school, zenana Bible work and a day school on the hospital compound.

Back in 1868 this same Society had purchased property in Allahabad and begun zenana work there, at the same time opening a number of day schools. When Miss Edith H. May took charge of this work in 1897 there were fourteen Anglo-Indian ladies teaching in zenanas and supervising twenty-five schools for Hindu and Moslem girls. There was also on the Mission compound a day school attended by about one hundred Bengali girls. Later these day schools were combined into one central school at 6 South Road, and in this form the educational program was continued until 1932 when the central school was closed. At present there is a small day school. Miss Fisher, the only American missionary (Woman's Union) now located in Allahabad, has charge of the Bible Training, the zenana teaching and the day school.

Work by this same Woman's Union was begun in

Cawnpore in 1880. The two kinds of ministry undertaken here were zenana work in the homes of the city, and an orphanage. A feature of the zenana work is a number of day schools, one of which was called the Mary A. Merriman School. This school became the nucleus of the present Merri-man School and Orphanage. During and following the famine of 1898-99 the place was crowded with unfortunate, hungry girls. At present there are one hundred and fifty girls in the school. It is now exclusively a boarding school and the girls may study up to the sixth class.

About 1890 school and zenana work was begun in Fatehpur, but this work was later discontinued. In 1906 at the invitation of the Presbyterians, a Rescue Home for women and girls was opened in this station, under the leadership of Miss Ellen H. Todd. In 1909 they opened medical work. During 1907-08 Rev. Charles Mattison, the resident Presbyterian missionary, rendered invaluable aid to the new missionaries in procuring land, clearing titles and in the erection of buildings. Mr. George Dunbar, then of Cawnpore, made the plans for the new hospital. The rescue home has provided protection and teaching for a large company of women and girls. The medical work has long been established on a firm and efficient basis. Some dispensary work is also carried on in the city and in nearby villages. At present the total program of activities is listed under: the hospital, dispensaries, nurses' school, zenana work, and the home of rescue. The spirit of cordial co-operation between the two Missions continues, and in spite of few conversions in either Mission, the Christian testimony in and around this district capital is quite worth while and in time will bear abundant fruit of the Spirit.

THE AMERICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL

According to Julius Richter and other authorities the Methodists opened their Christian work in Allahabad in 1885. There is a reference to Methodist work in Allahabad even before the above date, where we read that "T. J. Scott of Bareilly, seeing that the child was the most valuable asset of the Church, in 1876 organized the Indian Sunday School Union, in Allahabad."⁶ Details about the actual missionary

work in this city we get from the writings of Dr. P. M. Buck, of Methodist fame. He wrote:

Early in 1871 Dennis Osborne went to Allahabad, where, with the aid of another layman, he held a series of services when about thirty souls found Christ. They were organized into a band and made over to another mission of that station. In 1872 Osborne held another series of meetings with still greater results. Sunday services were continued in Allahabad and early in 1873 this brother was appointed the regular pastor. . . . Allahabad became the head of a district with a Christian community of 647, sixty-four paid Christian workers and property valued at seventy thousand rupees. There were orphanages for both boys and girls. It still (1906) has an important English Church, employing a pastor's whole time.⁷

There has been no American Methodist missionary resident in Allahabad for the past fifteen years. The local work of ministry to the city congregation is still carried on under the pastorate of a strong Indian leader.

We are also indebted to Dr. Buck for a statement regarding the course of their work in the busy city of Cawnpore. In the North-west India Conference, Cawnpore was the first station to be occupied. In 1870 Bishop Thoburn began to supply the pulpit for a small congregation, from Lucknow. In the end of 1870 William Taylor held a series of meetings in Cawnpore for both the English-speaking congregation and the Indian community. He gathered about twenty Indian converts. In 1871 P. M. Mukerji was sent to have charge of this work and the same year W. J. Gladwin went there as pastor of the English congregation. In 1906 the membership of the Methodist community was about two thousand with a band of one hundred and seventy-six paid workers in city and district. There was an English boarding school for small boys, and there were boarding schools for both girls and boys of the Indian Christians. The work is at present in charge of Mr. Wilkie, son of a well known Presbyterian missionary and son-in-law of the venerable Dr. and Mrs. P. M. Buck.

THE CANADIAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION

This Mission was founded by the late Rev. John Wilkie, D.D. as an independent work. Dr. Wilkie, formerly

of Indore, began work in Jhansi at the invitation of Henry Forman.

After several years of evangelistic work schools were established, among these being the first Mission high school in Jhansi. Later a Mission farm of twelve hundred acres was opened, eight miles north of Jhansi.

For a while mass movement efforts were successful and several hundred were gathered in. As many as twelve preachers had been stationed in villages to the east, the west and the south-west of Jhansi, all stations being in British territory. The Mission has not succeeded in getting a foothold in any of the surrounding states either as regards land or converts.

Mr. Hawtin came out in 1915 to take charge of the Mission farm and continues in charge of that work. Other missionaries (men and women) have been sent out until the staff now numbers twelve. In 1923 the Mission became a part of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission and remained under the Continuing Presbyterian Church after the Union of Churches in Canada in 1925.

At present the Mission consists of the large Jhansi compound on which are situated a boys' school, a girls' school, an orphanage, a dispensary and an industrial school (carpentry), along with their respective staffs. Outside of Jhansi are three Mission stations, including the farm, with resident missionaries.

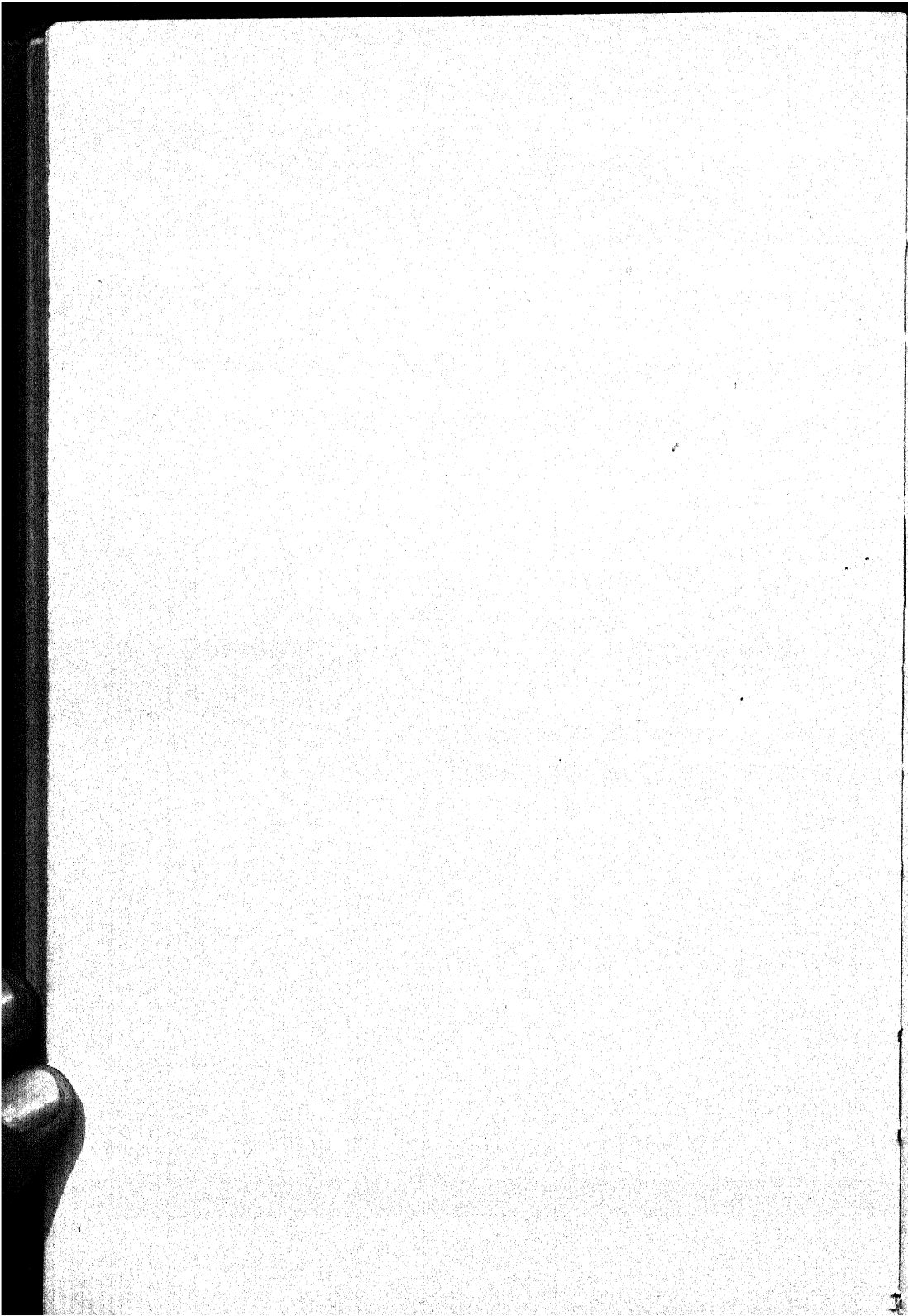
OTHER WORK

During the World War the Salvation Army opened a settlement on the edge of Cawnpore and today maintains a weaving factory for Criminal Tribe converts and others.

During the World War the Young Men's Christian Association established work in its own quarters in Allahabad. The property is still owned but the work is running on a greatly reduced basis since the withdrawal several years ago of the American Secretary. Y.M.C.A. activities are also carried on in Cawnpore.

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- ¹ *After One Hundred Years*, p. 124.
² *North India*, C. F. ANDREWS. (Handbook of English Church Expansion, 1908.)
³ *Sketches of Christianity in North India*, London, 1844.
⁴ Same as two above.
⁵ *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 1701-1900, C. F. PASCOE, 1901, pp. 590 ff.
⁶ *India Mission Jubilee of the American Methodist Church*, 1906-07, p. 42.
⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-92.



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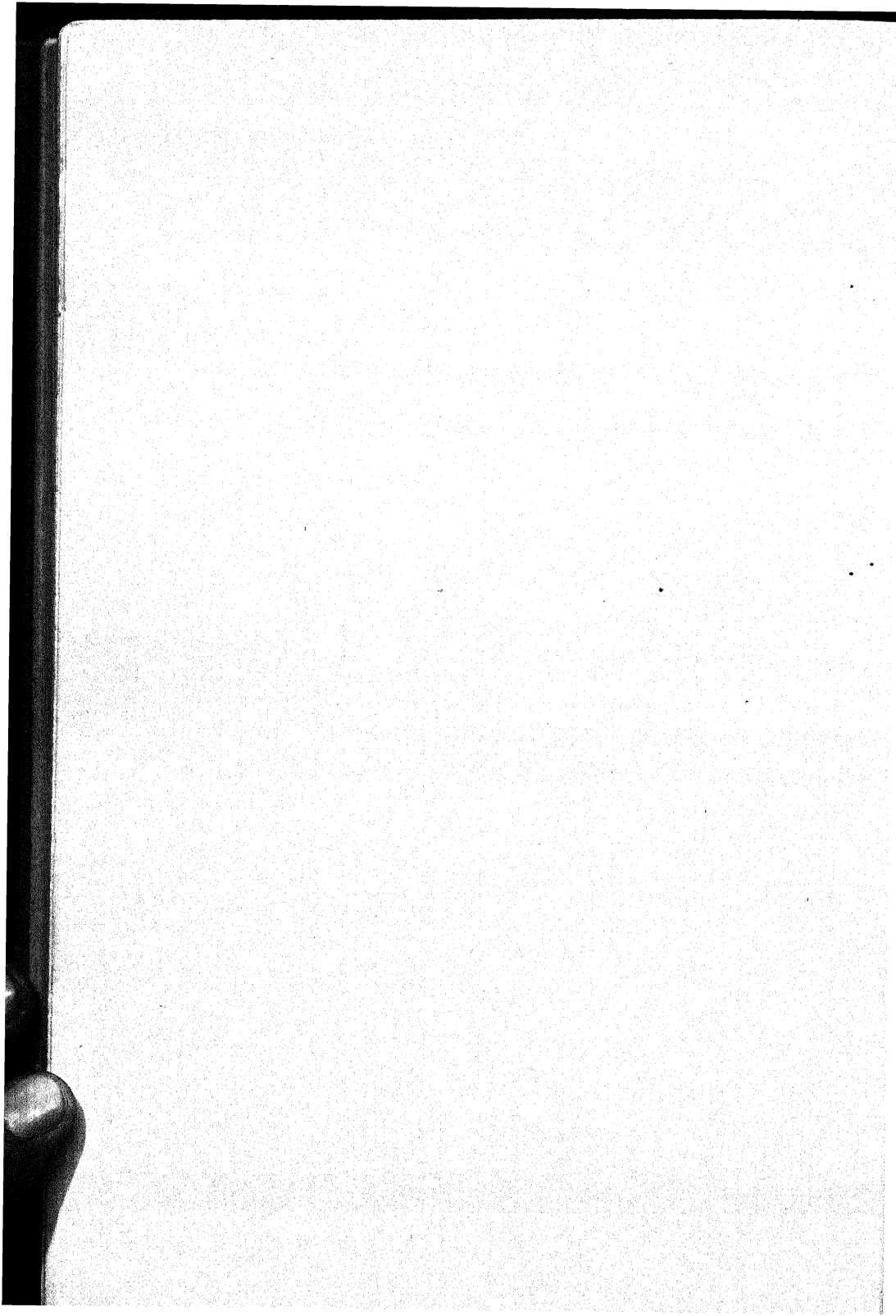
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APPENDIX

CENTENNIAL ROLL OF MISSIONARIES 1836-1936

NORTH INDIA MISSION

<i>Names</i>	<i>Term of Service</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Clarence W. Adams	1926-1938	Resigned
Mrs. C. W. Adams	1926-1938	"
Pearl M. Adams	1915-1918	Married
James M. Alexander	1865-1902	Resigned
Mrs. J. M. Alexander	1865-1902	"
Alexander B. Allison	1902-1909	"
Mrs. A. B. Allison	1902-1909	"
Walter L. Allison	1920-	
Mrs. W. L. Allison	1920-	
Herbert M. Andrews	1890-1898	Transferred
Mrs. H. M. Andrews	1890-1898	"
Harry T. Avey	1910-1922	Resigned
Mrs. H. T. Avey	1913-1922	"
Elizabeth Babbitt	1888-1891	"
Charles H. Bandy	1894-1925	"
Mrs. C. H. Bandy	1894-1925	"
Jessie F. Bell, M.D.	1884-1888	"
Christine Belz	1872-1902	Died
William Bembowe	1918-1921	Resigned
Mrs. W. Bembowe	1916-1921	"
Nellie Binford, M.D.	1903-1909	"
Augustus Brodhead	1858-1878	"
Mrs. A. Brodhead	1858-1878	Left India 1874
Adin P. Brooks	1923-	
Mrs. A. P. Brooks	1923-1924	Died in July
Mary L. Browning	1855-1857	Married
Miss P. A. Brink, M.D.	1872-1874	Resigned
Bessie J. Byerly	1918-	
Jennie M. Butler	1880-1881	Resigned

<i>Names</i>	<i>Term of Service</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Bertha T. Caldwell, M.D.	1894-1902	Resigned
Hildreth M. Caldwell, M.D.	1930-1932	Married
David E. Campbell	1850-1857	Martyr
Mrs. D. E. Campbell	1850-1857	"
Harry E. Campbell	1921-1929	Resigned
Anna R. Clark	1919-1925	"
Frederick R. Collins	1916-1932	"
Elizabeth Fife Collins	1916-1923	Died
Margaret Marshall Collins	1924-1932	Resigned
Jennie L. Colman	1890-	
Ralph D. Cornuelle	1918-1931	Died in Feb.
Anna Benade Cornuelle	1922-1932	Resigned
Morris K. Crothers, M.D.	1933-	
Mrs. M. K. Crothers	1933-	
Rubina M. Cuthbertson	1904-1908	Resigned
Harriet Davies, M.D.	1927-	
M. Anette Dennis	1917-	
Nancy M. Dickey	1870-1872	Mrs. T. Tracy
J. Leroy Dodds	1919-1936	P.M. 1917-19
Mrs. J. L. Dodds	1919-1936	P.M. 1917-19
Harriet A. Downs	1919-1934	Resigned
Dorothy L. Dragon	1932-	
Myrtle Ducret	1916-1917	Married
Winfield S. Dudgeon	1911-1932	Died
Mrs. W. S. Dudgeon	1911-1933	Resigned
George Dunbar	1911-	
L. Ruchti Dunbar	1914-1919	Died
Elizabeth Lewis Dunbar, M.D.	1931-	Punjab M.
		1915-31
Charles H. Dyke	1923-1936	Resigned
Mrs. C. H. Dyke	1923-1936	"
Preston M. Edwards	1902-1920	"
Mrs. P. M. Edwards	1912-1920	"
James B. Ely	1896-1899	"
Mrs. J. B. Ely	1896-1899	"
E. Allen Enders	1903-1910	Died
Mrs. E. A. Enders	1903-1910	
	1915-1921	Resigned

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<i>Names</i>	<i>Term of Service</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Wilma E. Eustis	1919-1923	Mrs. E. L. Pedersen
Arthur H. Ewing	1902-1912	Died in Sept.
Mrs. A. H. Ewing	1902-1917	Resigned
James C. R. Ewing	1878-1888	Transferred
Mrs. J. C. R. Ewing	1878-1888	"
Caroline E. Ewing	1901-1903	Mrs. S. M. Gil- lam
Henri R. Ferger	1923-	P.M. 1915-23
Mrs. H. R. Ferger	1923-	P.M. 1915-23
Wirth F. Ferger	1920-1925	Resigned
Mrs. W. F. Ferger	1920-1925	"
Iva May Fish	1916-	
Douglas N. Forman, M.D.	1919-	
Mrs. D. N. Forman	1919-	
Emily N. Forman, R.N.	1895-1931	Died in April
Henry Forman	1884-1925	Retired
A. E. Bird Forman	1889-1896	Died
C. S. Newton Forman	1899-1912	"
Sally Taylor Forman	1915-1925	Retired
John N. Forman	1887-1917	Died
Mrs. J. N. Forman	1887-1921	Resigned
Kenneth W. Forman	1922-1928	"
Mrs. K. W. Forman	1922-1928	"
Mary P. Forman	1887-1935	Retired
Jane S. Francis	1928-1934	Resigned
John E. Freeman	1838-1857	Martyr
Mary A. Beach Freeman	1838-1849	Died
Elizabeth Vredenburg Freeman	1851-1857	Martyr
Robert S. Fullerton	1850-1865	Died
Mrs. R. S. Fullerton	1850-1866	Resigned
Mary Fullerton	1877-1888	
	1895-1922	Retired
Elizabeth D. Galbreath	1915-	
Sylvannus M. Gillam	1900-1934	Retired
C. E. Ewing Gillam	1903-1926	Died
Mrs. Gillam, second	1928-1934	Retired
W. Stanley Gould	1933-	P.M. 1932-33

<i>Names</i>	<i>Term of Service</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Mrs. W. S. Gould	1933-	P.M. 1932-33
Don W. Griffin	1914-1920	Resigned
Mrs. D. W. Griffin	1914-1920	"
Walter D. Griffiths	1926-	S.T. 1921-24
Margaret Hamilton Griffiths	1932-	
Mabel E. Griffiths	1910-1912	Mrs. P. M. Edwards
Hervey D. Griswold	1890-1894	
Mrs. H. D. Griswold	1890-1894	To P. Mission
Priscilla K. Hall, R.N.	1921-1928	Resigned
Margaret Hamilton, R.N.	1930-1932	Mrs. W. D. Griffiths
Wilmer J. Hansen	1929-1935	Resigned
Mrs. W. J. Hansen	1929-1935	"
Maggie H. Hardie	1874-1876	"
Bethel G. Harris, M.D.	1932-1936	Married
Ira A. Hatch	1928-	
Mrs. I. A. Hatch	1928-	
Lawrence G. Hay	1850-1857	Resigned
Mrs. L. G. Hay	1850-1857	"
W. Brewster Hayes	1921-	
Mabel Sammons Hayes, M.D.	1926-	
Calvin H. Hazlett	1923-	S.T. 1917-19
Mrs. C. H. Hazlett	1926-	
Wesley L. Hemphill	1908-1915	Resigned
Mrs. W. L. Hemphill	1909-1915	"
Frances Heyl	1867-1881	Resigned 1883
William H. Hezlep	1911-	
Mrs. W. H. Hezlep	1911-	
Esther V. Hessel	1913-1917	Mrs. R. T. Meeker
Sam Higginbottom	1903-	
Mrs. Sam Higginbottom	1904-	
Agnes G. Hill	1922-1926	Affiliated 1928
Elizabeth F. Hine	1925-1933	Resigned
Archibald A. Hodge	1847-1850	"
Mrs. A. A. Hodge	1847-1850	"
James F. Holcomb	1872-1913	P.M. 1870-72

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<i>Names</i>	<i>Term of Service</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Mrs. J. F. Holcomb	1872-1913	P.M. 1870-72
Susan A. Hutcheson	1886-1894	Resigned
Sara S. Hutchinson	1879-1887	Mrs. H. M. Andrews
Edith V. Imhoff	1922-	
Henrietta J. Inglis	1924-	P.M. 1915-24
Thomas E. Inglis	1884-1892	Resigned
Mrs. T. E. Inglis	1884-1892	"
David Irving	1845-1849	Secretary
Mrs. D. Irving	1845-1849	
C. A. Rodney Janvier	1887-1902	
	1913-1928	Died
Mrs. C. A. R. Janvier	1887-1902	
	1913-1930	Retired
Ernest P. Janvier	1920-	
Mrs. E. P. Janvier, R.N.	1920-	
Albert O. Johnson	1855-1857	Martyr
Mrs. A. O. Johnson	1855-1857	"
Josephine C. Johnson	1901-1905	Resigned 1904
Mary E. Johnson	1891-1934	Retired
Sadie E. Johnson	1926-	
William F. Johnson	1860-1884	
	1891-1922	Died in 1926
Mrs. W. F. Johnson	1860-1884	Died in 1888
A. Gwendolyn Jones	1921-	
Edith M. Jones	1920-	
Louise M. Keach	1911-1913	Mrs. A. W. Moore
Samuel H. Kellogg	1863-1877	
	1892-1899	Died
Mrs. S. H. Kellogg	1864-1876	"
Mrs. S. H. Kellogg, second	1892-1899	Resigned
Edwin H. Kellogg	1906-1908	"
Mrs. E. H. Kellogg	1906-1908	"
Leslie A. Kenoyer	1915-1923	"
Mrs. L. A. Kenoyer	1916-1923	"
Walter D. Kline	1923-1926	"
Mrs. W. D. Kline	1924-1926	"

<i>Names</i>	<i>Term of Service</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Mary Kirby	1918-1922	Mrs. W. H. Lyon
H. G. Kribs	1923-1929	Resigned
Mrs. H. G. Kribs	1923-1929	"
John H. Lawrence	1901-	
Mrs. J. H. Lawrence	1901-	
Mary B. Lawson	1887-1888	Resigned
Bessie M. Lawton	1908-1926	Independent
Louisa Lee	1913-1935	Resigned
Harriet M. Lockrow	1914-	
Marion L. Lockwood, M.D.	1922-1924	Mrs. A. W. Moore
Reginald C. Louch	1922-	
Mrs. R. C. Louch	1923-	P.M.
Mary Lovett	1911-	
James J. Lucas	1870-1923	Emeritus
Mrs. J. J. Lucas	1871-1923	Died Dec. 1931
Evelyn Lucas	1912-1916	Mrs. C. D. Thompson
James C. Manry }	{ 1915-1929	Transferred
Mrs. J. C. Manry }	{ 1932-1938	
Clara I. Mariner	1930-1937	Resigned
Charles H. Mattison	1901-1909	"
Mrs. C. H. Mattison	1901-1909	"
Charles C. Meek	1893-1895	"
Mrs. C. C. Meek	1895-1895	"
Roy T. Meeker	1918-1933	"
Mrs. R. T. Meeker	1918-1933	"
Mrs. S. J. Millar	1873-1877	"
Rachel C. Mitchell, R.N.	1928-1933	"
William T. Mitchell	1896-1931	Died May 1933
Mrs. W. T. Mitchell	1930-1937	Retired
Alfred W. Moore	1911-	
Louise Keach Moore	1913-1924	Died
Marion Lockwood Moore, M.D.	1924-	

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<i>Names</i>	<i>Term of Service</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
John H. Morrison	1838-1843	Transferred to P.M.
Mrs. J. H. Morrison	1838-1838	Died
Mrs. J. H. Morrison, second	1839-1843	"
Margaret J. Morrow	1890-1913	"
Arthur T. Mosher	1933-	
Robert M. Munnis	1846-1861	Transferred
Mrs. R. M. Munnis	1851-1861	"
Julia F. Murray	1930-	
William H. McAuley	1839-1851	Resigned
Mrs. W. H. McAuley	1839-1851	"
James McEwen	1836-1838	"
Mrs. J. McEwen	1836-1838	"
Hester McGaughey	1898-1904	
Albert G. McGaw	1894-1930	Retired
Mrs. A. G. McGaw	1894-1930	"
Miriam McGaw	1920-1922	Mrs. J. M. Benade
Robert McMullin	1856-1857	Martyr
Mrs. R. McMullin	1856-1857	"
Sara L. McRobbie, R.N.	1913-	
Mrs. John Newton	1888-1904	Retired
Margaret R. Norris, M.D.	1900-1906	Married
Glen B. Ogden	1916-	
Mrs. G. B. Ogden	1916-	
Joseph Owen	1838-1870	Died
Mrs. J. Owen	1843-1864	"
Mrs. J. Owen, second	1867-1870	Resigned
Allen E. Parker	1919-	
Mrs. A. E. Parker	1919-	
E. Graham Parker	1923-	
Mrs. E. G. Parker	1923-	
Kenneth L. Parker	1927-	
Mrs. K. L. Parker	1927-	
Erwin L. Pedersen	1921-1927	Transferred
Mrs. E. L. Pedersen	1923-1927	"
Robert L. Pendleton	1917-1923	Resigned
Mrs. R. L. Pendleton	1917-1923	"

<i>Names</i>	<i>Term of Service</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Francis Perley	1879-1882	Resigned
Marshall S. Pinkerton	1925-	
Mrs. M. S. Pinkerton	1925-	
Walter G. Pitkin	1913-1915	Resigned
Mrs. W. G. Pitkin	1913-1915	"
Allen R. Pittman, M.D.	1917-1929	"
Mrs. A. R. Pittman	1917-1929	"
George W. Pollock	1881-1887	"
Mrs. G. W. Pollock	1881-1887	"
J. Wilbur Prentice	1925-	
Mrs. J. W. Prentice	1925-	
Elizabeth V. Prentiss	1903-1906	Married
Alma F. Rader	1915-1917	Resigned
John C. Rankin	1840-1848	"
Mrs. J. C. Rankin	1840-1848	"
H. G. Reed	1916-1919	Died
C. Herbert Rice	1929-	P.M. 1911-29
Mrs. C. H. Rice	1929-	P.M. 1913-29
Miss M. E. Robinson	1907-1914	
Robert H. Robinson	1914-1925	Resigned
Mrs. R. H. Robinson	1921-1925	"
Miss M. E. Rodgers	1899-1907	
Lena B. Ruchti	1910-1914	Mrs. George Dunbar
Blanche C. Sample	1923-	
Mabel G. Sammons, M.D.	1924-1926	Mrs. W. B. Hayes
Edward H. Sayre	1862-1870	Resigned
Mrs. E. H. Sayre	1862-1870	"
Burt H. Schneider	1933-	
Mrs. B. H. Schneider	1933-	
Emma M. Schweigert	1921-1930	Resigned
James L. Scott	1837-1867	
	1876-1880	Died
Mrs. J. L. Scott	1838-1848	"
Mrs. J. L. Scott, second	1853-1867	
	1876-1892	Woodstock
Anna E. Scott	1874-1876	To Woodstock

CENTENNIAL ROLL OF MISSIONARIES 1836-1936 219

<i>Names</i>	<i>Term of Service</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Augustus H. Seeley	1846-1854	Resigned
Mrs. A. H. Seeley	1846-1853	Died
Elizabeth J. Seeley	1879-1887	Resigned
George A. Seeley	1870-1887	"
Mrs. G. A. Seeley	1870-1887	"
Sara C. Seward, M.D.	1873-1891	Died in June
H. Watson Shaw	1850-1855	Resigned
Mrs. H. W. Shaw	1850-1855	"
Arthur E. Slater	1910-	
Mrs. A. E. Slater	1910-	
Mary E. Sly	1871-1872	Mrs. J. J. Lucas
Ray C. Smith	1900-1922	Died
Mrs. R. C. Smith	1900-1923	Resigned
R. Caldwell Smith	1930-	
Mrs. R. C. Smith	1930-	
Sara E. Swezy, M.D.	1910-1913	Mrs. H. T. Avey
Miss M. L. Symes, M.D.	1888-1894	Resigned
John S. Symington, M.D.	1902-1906	"
Mrs. J. S. Symington	1902-1906	"
Carl D. Thompson	1912-1936	S. T. 1906-09
Evelyn Lucas Thompson	1916-1927	Died
Emma L. Templin, M.D.	1892-1894	Resigned
Thomas Tracy	1868-1904	Retired
Mrs. T. Tracy	1870-1904	"
Jane W. Tracy	1898-1935	"
Julius F. Ullman	1847-1882	Transferred
Mrs. J. F. Ullman	1851-1882	"
Margaret J. Vande Bunt	1929-	
Jane Vanderveer	1840-1846	Resigned
Mason Vaughn	1921-	
Mrs. M. Vaughn	1921-	
John E. Wallace	1920-	S.T. 1913-16
Mrs. J. E. Wallace	1924-	
J. Johnston Walsh	1843-1873	Resigned
Mrs. J. J. Walsh	1843-1873	"
Marion Walsh	1864-1867	Married

<i>Names</i>	<i>Term of Service</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Emma Walsh	1868-1869	Died
Elizabeth Walsh	1870-1882	Married
Wayne D. Wardwell	1930-	
Mrs. W. D. Wardwell, M.D.	1930-	
Joseph Warren	1839-1854	
	1872-1877	Died in Gwalior
Mrs. J. Warren	1839-1854	Left India
Mrs. J. Warren, second	1872-1901	Died in Gwalior
James Watt	1913-1923	Died
Mrs. J. Watt	1914-1923	Resigned
W. Ernest Weld	1909-1921	"
Mrs. W. E. Weld	1909-1921	"
Robert E. Williams	1852-1861	"
Henry R. Wilson	1838-1846	"
Mrs. H. R. Wilson	1838-1846	"
James Wilson	1838-1851	P.M. 1835-38
Mrs. J. Wilson	1838-1851	P.M. 1835-38
Mary N. Wilson	1873-1879	Died
William H. Wiser	1915-	
Mrs. W. H. Wiser	1916-	
Carl C. Wisner	1917-1923	Resigned
Mrs. C. C. Wisner	1917-1923	"
Adelaide Woodard, M.D.	1914-1936	Retired
Jennie Woodside	1880-1887	P.M. 1867-80
John S. Woodside	1881-1908	P.M. 1848-81
Mrs. J. S. Woodside	1881-1887	P.M. 1848-81
Mrs. J. S. Woodside, second	1890-1908	Retired
John Wray	1841-1849	Resigned
Mrs. J. Wray	1841-1849	"
Benjamin D. Wyckoff	1860-1874	Transferred
Mrs. B. D. Wyckoff	1860-1874	"
Theodore S. Wynkoop	1868-1877	Resigned
Annie Young, M.D.	1908-1915	"